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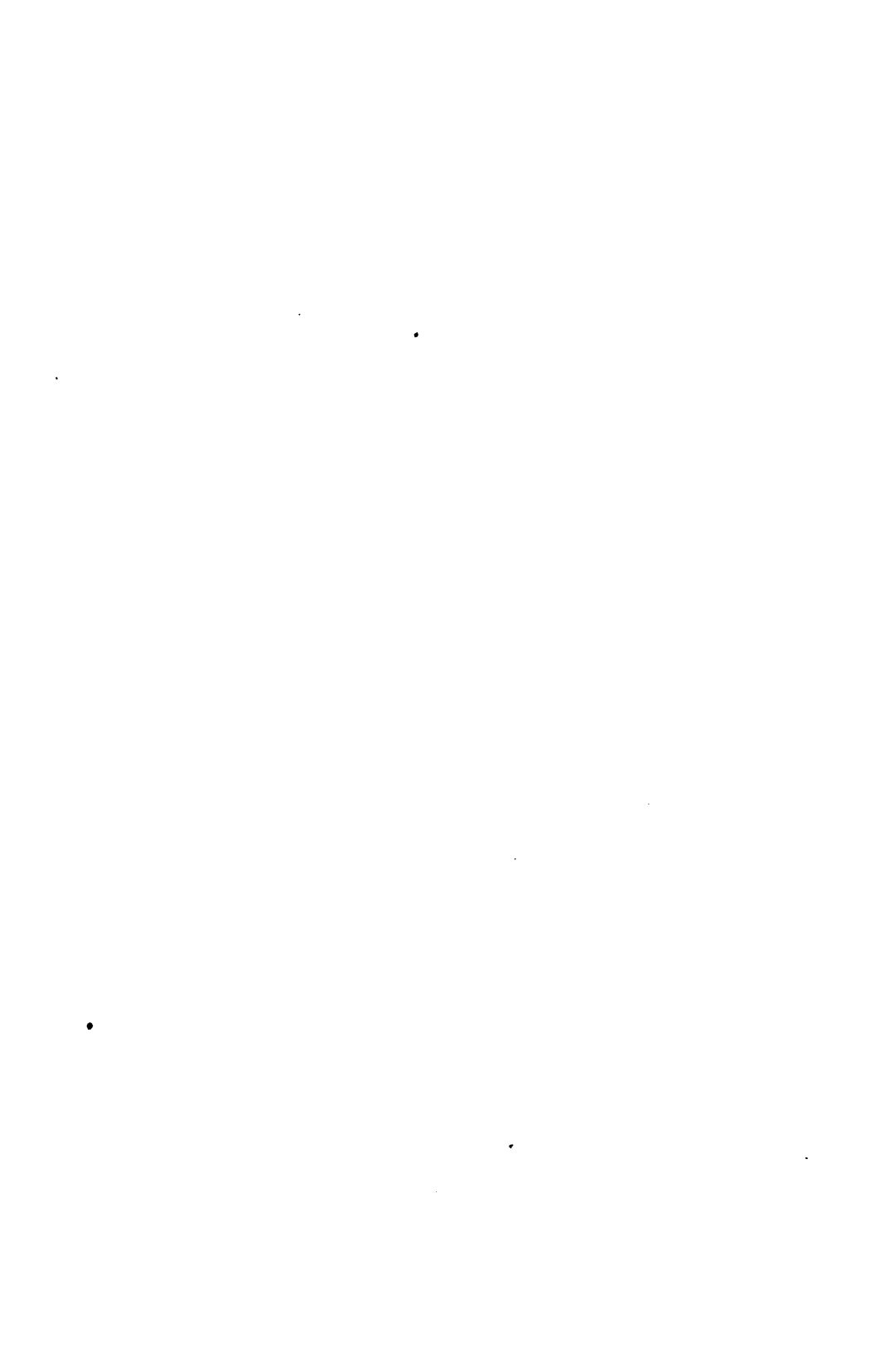
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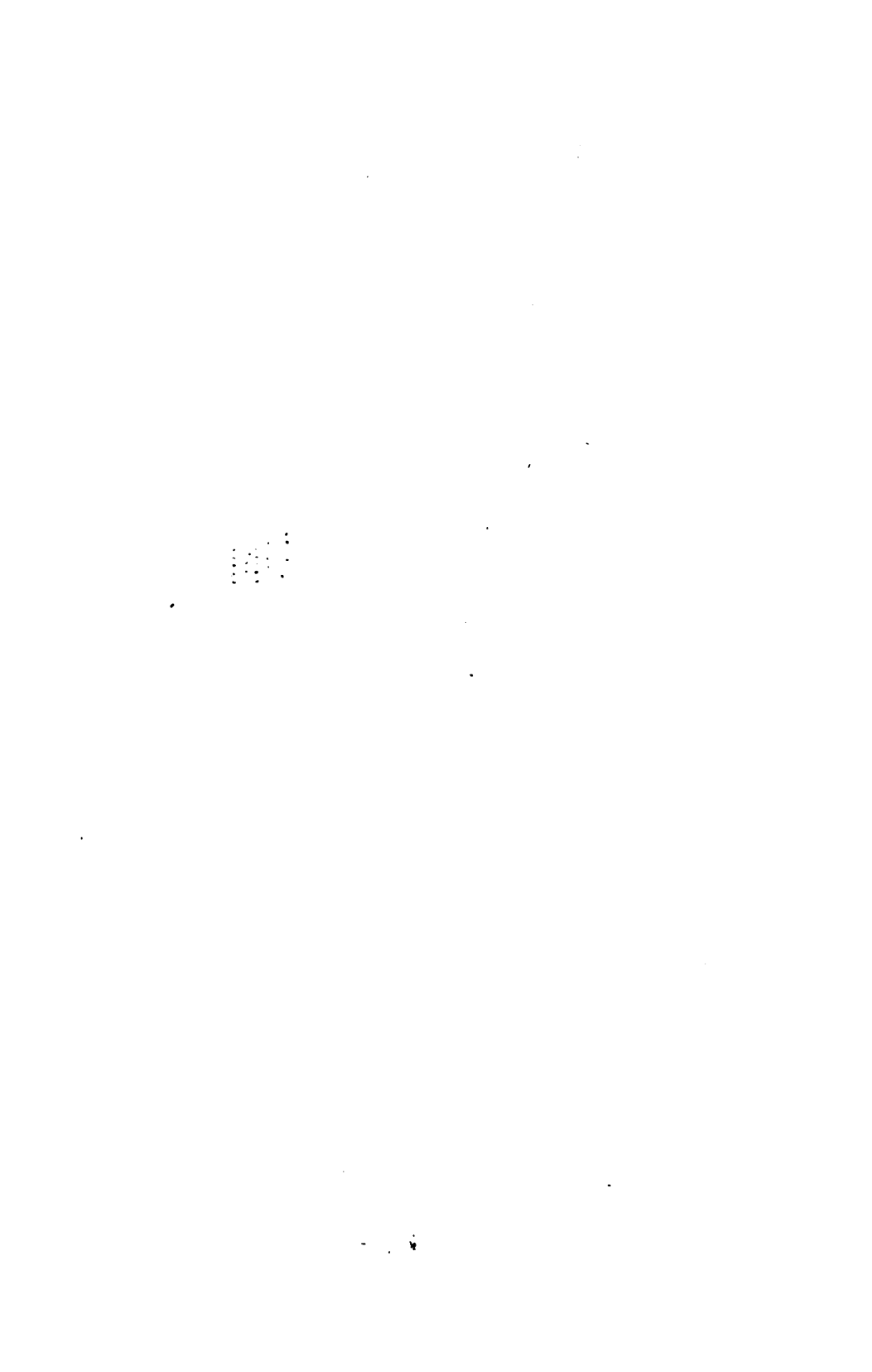
ROXBURGH, SELKIRK, PEEBLES



A HISTORY
OF
THE BORDER COUNTIES
(ROXBURGH, SELKIRK, PEEBLES)

BY
Brisbane Scott
SIR GEORGE [^]DOUGLAS, BART.
M.A. CAMBRIDGE

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCXCIX



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INSCRIBED TO
SCHOMBERG HENRY KERR,
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MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN,

*in warm admiration of the care and taste expended
by him on the beautiful ruins of Jedburgh Abbey,
and on other Memorials of the Past.*

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PREFACE.

IN composing a History of the Border Counties, a writer's first inclination is to produce a book made up largely of legend and tradition, and freely interspersed with citations from the Border Ballads. But, fascinating as is the material thus presented, so long as Sir Walter Scott's 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' with its rich equipment of notes and introduction, is within the reach of every one, a new book of the kind can scarcely be considered necessary; whilst those who seek for a critical study of the ballads will find it ready to their hand in the second volume of the 'History and Poetry of the Scottish Border' by the late Professor Veitch.¹ The aim, then, of the following sketch is rather to bring the history of the Border counties into line with the results of recent historical and antiquarian research, presenting to the reader, so far as may be, only well-

¹ Wm. Blackwood & Sons. New and enlarged edition, 1893.

authenticated fact, and thus not scrupling, when necessary, to explode even long-cherished error. In pursuit of this method, where no reliable information is available, a matter is occasionally left doubtful—though the ingenious surmises of competent students have of course been allowed their due weight.

In preparing his little monograph, the author has of course made free use of the existing histories of the district—namely, of the careful but somewhat ponderous work of Ridpath; of Jeffrey's 'Roxburghshire,' which, if much of its information has been superseded, still for Borderers contains much good reading; of the animated narrative and valuable documents of Mr Craig-Brown's 'Selkirkshire'; of William Chambers's pleasantly written 'Peeblesshire'; and, finally, of Mr F. H. Groome's useful 'Short Border History.'

His researches have also been much aided by such standard works as—to name but one or two—Morton's 'Monastic Annals of Teviotdale,' and the valuable Introductions to the Cartularies of the Border abbeys, as well as by the many interesting books dealing with the Borders which in more recent years have poured from the press, among which it may suffice to specify the two volumes of 'Calendars of Border Papers' (1560-1603), the 'History of Liddesdale' by Mr R. B. Armstrong, the histories of the Douglas and Scott families, compiled from original sources by the late Sir William Fraser,

the 'Border Elliots' of the Hon. George Elliot, and the Rev. J. Wood Brown's 'Life and Legend of Michael Scot.'

It now remains for the author gratefully to acknowledge the goodwill which he has met with generally in the course of his labours, and to record his special thanks to the gentlemen and lady hereafter named : to Dr David Christison and Dr Joseph Anderson, for notes lent and help by consultation ; to Mr F. H. Groome and the Rev. George Gunn of Stichill for reading the proof-sheets of the book ; to the gentleman last-named and to the Rev. J. A. Findlay of Sprouston for local information ; and to Mrs M. M. Turnbull of Eastfield and others for information regarding Borderers in the Colonies. He also wishes to convey his thanks to Mr James Sinton for undertaking the compilation of the Bibliography appended to the volume, at the same time acknowledging the assistance Mr Sinton has received from Messrs D. Johnstone and Orr of Edinburgh and Messrs W. & J. Kennedy of Hawick.

SPRINGWOOD PARK, KELSO,
March 1899.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Roman invasion and occupation—Roman remains	I

CHAPTER II.

Withdrawal of the Romans—Prehistoric remains in the Border counties : caves, camps, prehistoric town on Eildon, broch at Torwoodlee, the Catrail, standing-stones, cup-markings, cists, miscellaneous finds—Legendary or semi-legendary characters : King Arthur, Merlin—Ida—The kingdom of Bernicia—The kingdom of Northumbria—Battle of Degsastane	16
--	----

CHAPTER III.

Conversion of Northumbria—Aidan—Old Melrose—Boisil—Cuthbert : he embraces the religious life ; his mission-work ; miracles ; called away from Melrose ; subsequent life and death ; character ; local associations—Later history of the Northumbrian kingdom—The Danes—Battle of Brunanburh—Northumbria an earldom—Battle of Carham	35
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Disturbed condition of the Border continued—Amalgamation of nationalities—Influence of St Margaret—Growing importance of the Border—Early notices of Border localities—Foundation and rise of the Border abbeys—Kelso : early abbots, architecture, arts and industries, possessions and revenues, private benefactions, cultivation and tenancy of land—Melrose Abbey : Old Melrose,

'Chronica de Mailros,' architecture of abbey, John Morow—Jedburgh: early foundation, grants to the abbey, daily life there, architecture—Early 'Border churches—Influence of the monks—Dawn of thought and poetry in the Borders; Drithelm; Michael Scot, arguments in support of a Border origin, early studies and subsequent career, true character, legends; Thomas the Rhymer, localities associated with his name, prophecies attributed to him, their local allusions; Lord Soulis; Habby Ker	52
--	----

CHAPTER V.

Border land-names—Professor Veitch's views—Surnames; early mention of some, and origins of Border families: Scott, Douglas, Ker, Armstrong, Elliot—By-names—Castles: the old and new type—Peels: their evolution—Burghs—Narrative of events on the Borders—Malcolm resigns northern counties to England—William the Lion: his capture; endeavours to recover northern counties; relations with John—Alexander II.—Reopening and settlement of northern counties' question—Commission to determine Border line—First Border laws—Alexander III.—A <i>coup d'état</i> at Kelso—The <i>contre-coup</i> —Finding of an ancient cross and urn at Peebles—The Royal Family on the Borders—The ghost that danced at Jethart	104
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

Change brought about on the Borders by the death of Alexander III., and events following—The convention of Birgham—Edward summoned to the Border—Subsequent events—Scottish incursions over the Border—Sack of Berwick—Edward's itinerary in Roxburghshire—Local names in the Ragman Rolls—Lands restored in virtue of fealty sworn—Wallace in Ettrick—Forest archers at Falkirk—Wallace's election as Guardian at St Mary of the Lowes—Lanercost chronicler's account of military events on the Border—Tradition of Wallace's descent from a Peeblesshire family—The "Wallace" tower and thorn—The Frasers of Oliver, father and son—The Borders under English rule—Adventure of Douglas on the water of Lyne—The "Emerald" Charter—Douglas captures Roxburgh Castle by stratagem—Succession of Scottish incursions after Bannockburn—Douglas routs the English at Lintalee—Progress of the war on the Borders—Froissart's account of the Scottish soldiers and their habits—The incursion into Weardale—Treaty of Northampton—Bruce charges his successors with the care of Melrose Abbey—"The Good King Robert's Testament"—Death of Douglas—The Border hero of the War of Independence	139
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Claim of Thomas, Lord Wake, to the lands of Liddel—Edward Baliol at Roxburgh solemnly surrenders the liberties of Scotland —Roxburgh, Jedburgh, the Forest, and Peebles given up to the English—They are regained by the Scots—Murder of Dalhousie by the Knight of Liddesdale at Hermitage—Death of the Knight —Wark Castle defended by the Countess of Salisbury—Battle of Neville's Cross, and recovery by Edward III. of the Border country—The black death transmitted to the Borders from Eng- land—Scots and French defeat the English at Nisbet—Baliol's second surrender to Edward III. at Roxburgh—The "Burnt Candlemas"—Border country under English administration— Douglas claims the crown—The Earl of March's squire slain by English in Roxburgh market-place—The "Bloody Fair" and its sequels—Unrest on the Borders—John of Gaunt's invasions— Douglas wins back the Scottish Border country—John of Vienne comes to the Borders—Caustic criticisms of his followers—De- struction of Melrose Abbey by Richard II.—Story of Divine retribution for the same—The battle of Otterburn—Its character- istics	171
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

International conference at Hadden—Provision against Scots-Eng- lishmen and English-Scotsmen—Rupture between March and Douglas—Second battle of Nisbet Moor—"Tineman," Earl of Douglas—Rout of Homildon Hill—Wavering allegiance of the Percys—Siege of Coklaw—Hotspur's rebellion and death at Shrewsbury—Tineman again an English prisoner—Formidable rising in the north checked by the Earl of Westmorland—First use of cannon in Border warfare—Renewed rebellion and death of Northumberland—Border pirates—Capture and demolition of Jedburgh Castle—The expenses how defrayed—Borderers keep in view the regaining of their old limits—The Percy honours and estates restored—The "Fool Raid" and its sequel—Capture and recapture of Wark—Deaths of March and Tineman—Provisions affecting the Borders in truce with England by James I. on his return from captivity—The king's speech as he crosses the Border —State of the Border at the time— <i>Impressions de voyage</i> of a future pope—The Borders peaceful under James I.—Battle of Piperden—Great siege of Roxburgh—The poems of "Peebles to the Play" and the "Three Tales of the Three Priests of Peebles" —Light thrown by them on social life of the Borders in the fif- teenth century	192
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

New provisions in the truce of 1438—The Douglasses: Archibald, fifth earl; his son, William, the sixth earl; character and fate—"Gross James"—The power of the family reaches its height in Earl William; his estates and influence on the Borders; his murder by James II. in Stirling Castle—Wars with the Black Douglasses—Their downfall—The Scotts profit thereby—End of the last Earl of Douglas—Doings on the Borders—New regulations for the defence of the Middle Marches—Siege of Roxburgh Castle—Death of James II.—Capture and demolition of the castle—Modern depredators—Borderers in the Wars of the Roses—Border laws (third series)—Selfish character of Douglas's ambition—The truce strained to breaking-point on the Borders—Character of James III.—Borderers under Angus and Home take part in the rebellion—Archibald, Earl of Angus, "Bell-the-Cat"—The Douglasses lose Liddesdale and Hermitage—New treaty with England—Perkin Warbeck on the Borders—A royal marriage destined to affect the Borders—The rise of moss-trooping—Causes which led up to Flodden—Blood-feud of Ker of Fernihirst and the Herons of Ford—Battle of Flodden 217

CHAPTER X.

The Borders after Flodden—Local traditions—The Dacre raids—The Hornshole incident—Faction rife in the country—"Raid of Jedburgh Forest"—Outbreak of hostilities with England—Surrey's Jedburgh despatch—Siege of Fernihirst and its sequel—George Buchanan's account of Albany's siege of Wark Castle—Battle of Melrose Bridge—Blood-feud of the Scotts and Kers, and murder of Buccleuch in the streets of Edinburgh—Fall of Angus—The king turns his attention to the Borders—Maitland's "Complaint against the Thieves of Liddesdale"—Description of a Border raid—Demoralisation of the Borders—William Cokburn and Adam Scot made examples—The king's expedition into Teviotdale—Execution of Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie and his companions—Was it justified?—Ballads of freebooting life—Relations between the two countries—Affair of Hadden Rig—Preparations for invasion, and death of James V.—Depression of the Borders 251

CHAPTER XI.

Matrimonial scheme of Henry VIII.—His anger at its defeat—First expedition of Hertford—Incursion by Lord Eure on Jedburgh—English raids on the Border—Angus threatens vengeance—Battle

of Ancrum Moor—Maid Lilliard—Hertford's second expedition—Defence of Kelso Abbey; its capture and destruction—Wholesale devastation of Teviotdale—Hertford's third expedition—At Roxburgh after battle of Pinkie—Repairs to the castle, and submission of Border gentlemen—Buccleuch submits; his part in the French alliance—De Beaugué's narrative of the French assault on Fernihirst—Atrocities practised by Borderers on their English prisoners—Contrast between the parts played by the Border counties in religious matters in the twelfth and sixteenth centuries; how accounted for—Dissolution of the Border monasteries, and appropriation of their lands—Proceedings of the Lord James against Border thieves at Hawick—Mary, Queen of Scots, in the Border counties—Her ride to Hermitage—Her illness at Jedburgh—Queen Mary's house there	277
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

Bishop Leslie on the manners of the Borderers—Their views of right and wrong—Blood-feuds; good faith their religion; born horsemen; knowledge of the country; neglect of agriculture; dwellings and style of living—Riding ballads: "The Fray of Suport;" "Jamie Telfer o' the Fair Dodhead;" "Dick o' the Cow;" "Jock o' the Syde;" &c.—The rising in the north—Double betrayal of Northumberland—An English spy's report of a conversation at Jedburgh—Expedition of Sussex and Hunsdon—Borderers in the raid of Stirling—Peculiar treatment of a herald in Jedburgh—Rebuilding of Branksome—Method of procedure on a "day of truce"—The raid of the Reidswire—Regent Morton's palace of Droghda—Rivalry between the families of Cessford and Fernihirst—Progress of events on the Border—Proceedings of Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell—The 'Border Papers'; by-names of Borderers—Old Wat of Harden and the "Flower of Yarrow"—Legend of "Muckle-mouthed Meg"—Rescue of Kinmont Willie—Buccleuch and Elizabeth	305
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

The Union of the Crowns, its effect on the Borders—The final raids—Stringent measures resorted to for the pacification of the Borders—Deportation, disarming, dragooning, &c.—"Jethart justice"—James's chancellor reports progress—Bond of Borderers to repress robbery and bloodshed on the Borders—Borderers in the foreign wars—Buccleuch companies in Holland—Scott of Satchells—Slow progress of the Border counties—Their intellectual insignificance—Hobby Hall; Samuel Rutherford; lingering lawless-
--

ness—Peebles races prohibited—Street scenes in Peebles—Instances from the Register of the Privy Council; hamesucken, &c.—Cattle-maiming—Exploits of Christie's Will—The last of the moss-troopers—Willie of Westburnflat—Statutes regarding sale of cattle on the Borders—Anecdote from Carlyle's 'Reminiscences'—Measures against hunting and timber-felling in the Cheviots—Borderers ennobled at the Union: Lord Scott of Buccleuch; the Earl of Roxburghe; the Earls of Ancrum and Lothian; Carr, Earl of Somerset; the Earl of Melrose 334

CHAPTER XIV.

Progress of the Borders retarded by the civil and religious wars—Summary of events in the country—An army under Leslie marches to the Border—Projected attack on Covenanters at Kelso—Their encampment on Duns Law—Principal Baillie's description—Pacification of Berwick—The Covenanters pass the Tweed at Coldstream—Position of Montrose before Philiphaugh—Battle of Philiphaugh—Flight of Montrose—Traquair's cynicism—Cruelty of the Covenanters—Traditions of the battlefield—Persecutions of Catholics; Lord Linton; the Marquis and Marchioness of Douglas—Severity of Church discipline—Character of the times—Sieges of Neidpath and Home by Cromwell—Marie, Countess of Buccleuch; Anna, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth—The Borders during the later persecutions—Death of Samuel Rutherford—Henry Hall of Haugh-head and his associates—Gateshaw Braes—Conventicle on Selkirk Common—The "Harbour Craig" in Tweeddale—Martyr's grave in Tweedsmuir churchyard—Sack of Traquair House 359

CHAPTER XV.

The era of peace—Incident at the town cross of Jedburgh—The rebels of the '15 enter Kelso—Indifference of the inhabitants—Sermon by the Rev. Mr Patten in the Great Kirk—James VIII. proclaimed king—Differences of the Generals—March to Jedburgh—Mutiny of the Highlanders at Hawick—End of the campaign—Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Kelso—John Murray of Broughton—March of Charles Edward's troops through the Border counties—Route of the western column—The Prince marches to Kelso—His reception there—Crosses the Border from Jedburgh—Local incidents of the '45—Adventure of Miss Jean Elliot—Conduct of Murray of Broughton—Escape of a Jacobite prisoner at the Devil's Beef-tub—The locked gates of Traquair . . . 388

CONCLUSION.

Progress of the country—Witchcraft on the Borders—Sectarian intolerance : Quakers ; Catholic emancipation—Material improvements : Schemes of Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope—Tobacco-culture in the Borders—Attention to agriculture by Border lairds—William Dawson of Frogden, the "Father of Scottish Agriculture"—Opposition to improvement—Life of a Border laird of the eighteenth century—Embellishment of estates—Letter of Lord Ancram—Culture and distinction on the Borders during the eighteenth century—Development of Border woollen manufactories : Hawick ; Galashiels—Changes in social life—The plague ; fires ; duels—The Yetholm Gipsies—Border smugglers—Superstitions—Walter Scott, the Ettrick Shepherd, Leyden, other Border poets—The "False Alarm"—Character of the modern Borderer	405
--	-----

LIST OF BOOKS RELATING TO OR PUBLISHED IN THE BORDER

COUNTIES	433
LIST OF MAPS OF ROXBURGH, SELKIRK, AND PEEBLES.	471
INDEX	473

LIST OF MAPS.

TEVIOTIA <i>vulgo</i> TIVEDAIL. <i>Auct. Tim. Pont.</i>	}	In pocket at begin- ning of volume.
<i>Io. Blacu, excudit</i>		
TVEDIA CUM VICECOMITATU ETTERICO		
FORESTÆ ETIAM SELKIRKÆ DICTUS.		
TWEE-DAIL WITH THE SHERIFDOME OF ETTERIK - FORREST CALLED ALSO SEL- KIRK. <i>Auct. Timotheo Pont</i>		

From Blacu's Great Atlas, 1654.

ROXBURGH, SELKIRK, AND PEEBLES . . .	{	In pocket at end of volume.
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THE BORDER COUNTIES.

CHAPTER I.

ROMAN INVASION AND OCCUPATION—ROMAN REMAINS.

THE 'Life of Agricola' by Tacitus may be described as the false dawn of Border history. In that beautiful little monograph—a model of classical dignity and condensation of style, some of whose phrases have passed into stock quotations—the light of literature falls for the first time upon our Borderland. But it falls there only to be withdrawn again, plunging the country which for the twinkling of an eye it had illuminated back into darkness for a thousand years.

It was in the year of our Lord 78 that that accomplished military commander and exemplary Roman, Cnæus Julius Agricola, was sent as consular legate into Britain,—that island, as will be remembered, having been first invaded by his great countryman, Julius Cæsar, one hundred and thirty-three years earlier; and in the interim, after a period of neglect, having been by successive governors brought partially into the condition of a Roman province. The first two years of his residence in Britain were devoted by Agricola

to the punishment of insubordination on the part of the tribe of Ordovices in North Wales, to subduing the island of Mona, and to pushing his conquests north of the Humber, which is thought to have formed the boundary of the Roman sway at the time of his arrival,¹ in all of which undertakings he met with brilliant success. These, however, were merely the first steps in his achievements. Still, comparatively speaking, young, and though just and moderate in victory, of a lofty and aspiring temperament, Agricola had no intention of resting here upon his laurels. His second winter in Britain, thinks the author of '*Caledonia Romana*,' he spent on nearly the same ground where afterwards stood Hadrian's Wall; and this writer—whose statements must, however, be accepted as probabilities or surmises rather than as facts—adds that his officers may at this time have been engaged in acquiring what knowledge they could of the country which lay immediately in front of them, with this view enticing natives into their camps, in order that information as to the best routes through forests and morasses, and the most accessible passes of the mountains, might be elicited. At any rate, and however this may have been, in the summer of his third year in Britain, flushed by the splendour of his recent victories, and spurred by the desire to explore and overrun the country to its farthest limits, Agricola advanced in a northerly direction. The precise point at which he passed what we now call the Border is unknown. Hill Burton, an eminent though too digressive authority, speaks of the evidence from vestiges of the Roman progress in Scotland as seeming to point to his having marched along the east coast to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.² Stuart, on the other hand, supposes that he may have crossed the present shire of Roxburgh, and proceeded by the vale of Leader to the same destination. His field

¹ Stuart, *Caledonia Romana*, p. 50.

² *History*, vol. i. p. 3.

forces are estimated by the latter writer at from 25,000 to 30,000 men, who may either have been divided into an eastern and western invading column, or into two divisions following each other at the interval of a day's march. Speaking of the advance of the Roman forces, Tacitus gives a striking description of the parallel progress of the army and fleet into unknown lands and seas—"whilst often infantry, cavalry, and marines, meeting together in one encampment to carouse, would recount, with characteristic embellishments, each their own experiences and exploits, comparing now the intricacies of mountains and forests with the hardships of the waves, and again battles against the enemy with victories over the deep."¹ Strictly speaking, it must be acknowledged that this passage belongs to a somewhat later date, and, indeed, the co-operation of the fleet at the present juncture has not been established. Yet for its vivid picture of the frame of mind of the invaders, if for nothing else, the quotation deserves a place here.

In the first year of his campaign in Scotland, Agricola carried his ravages as far as the estuary of the Taus, or Tanaus,—his advance spreading such consternation among the large-limbed, red-haired Caledonians who constituted the native population, that, though by assailing the invading army with violent storms heaven itself seemed to war upon their side, they appear to have struck not a blow in self-defence.² As to the identity of the limit named above, uncertainty prevails—its identification with either the Firth of Forth or the Tyne Water in East Lothian being plausible, whilst of the two the balance of opinion inclines to the latter supposition. After overrunning the country to the south of the Firths of Clyde and Forth, Agricola devoted the next summer to the consolidation of his new conquests ;

¹ Julii Agric. Vita, cap. 25.

² Ibid., cap. 32.

and at this point our personal interest in his movements may be said to cease. Merely premising, therefore, that his triumphant advance northward was continued till it culminated three years later in the great victory over the Caledonian tribes under Galgacus, gained probably in the neighbourhood of Forfar or Brechin, and shortly followed by his own recall by the jealous Domitian, we may here leave following his movements and turn to a brief examination of such relics of Roman occupation, dating from this or a later time, as are still extant in the Border country. These remains consist of roads and camps, or military stations; but, as will soon appear, there is much still to be done in establishing their authenticity. The roads are those known as Watling Street and the Wheel Causey.

Of the great Roman road which bears the former name, the reader may be reminded that its course has been traced as far as the intrenchments of Chew Green on the Coquet.¹ Leaving this place, it is supposed to bend to the east round Brownhart Law, and cross the Border line, whence it proceeds in a north-westerly direction along the back of the range of hills which "send down their streams into the Kale near the Hindhopes," and crosses that river at Towford. It then passes the camp of Towford, or Street House, and, after skirting Cunzierton and passing to the south of Shibden Hill, continues its course in the same direction, and now in a perfectly straight line, past Cappuck, where it crosses Oxnam Water, to Bonjedward, where, according to Jeffrey, traces of a station which have since disappeared were in the middle of the eighteenth century still visible. From Bonjedward it runs on through the grounds of Monteviot House and over Lilliardsedge, forming for three and a half miles the

¹ Memoir written during a survey of the Watling Street. H. Mac-Lauchlan.

boundary between the parishes of Ancrum and Maxton. It then stretches away in the direction of Newtown, running straight for Eildon, believed by Jeffrey, on the authority of Roy and other antiquarians of the last century, to be the Trimontium of the Romans—a supposition to which the striking outline of the three hills gives plausibility, but which is otherwise unsupported by a shadow of evidence. From Eildon the road runs on to Newstead, the site of a Roman station, at which point, as record of an ancient bridge is found, Jeffrey assumes it to have crossed the Tweed.¹ Since Jeffrey's day, however, a more carefully trained antiquarian² has been over the same ground, and his conclusions are arrived at with more caution. He admits that, owing to the position of their military capital at York, the Romans probably entered North Britain from the east; but, proceeding to divide the road into two parts, he dwells upon the fact that no antiquities have been found along the first half of its course, and, indeed, that there is nothing in its structure so far to differentiate it from any other old drove-road in the country. Even the name of Watling Street, whatever its exact significance may be, is not in common use, but has chiefly been applied to it in books. With the second half of the road—extending from Shibden Hill to a point near St Boswells Green, beyond which no traces of it are now visible in Roxburghshire—the case is different. Here its undeviatingly straight course, its

¹ No trace of this bridge now remains, though it is stated that blocks of squared stone have been found in the river some way below the village. At the top of the hill above the viaduct, to the south of the river, ploughmen are said to have discovered, below the surface of the fields, traces of a paved road, and it is possible that this may have communicated with a paved ford or bridge.

² James Macdonald, Esq., LL.D., *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxix. p. 317.

imposing breadth—extending to 24 feet or more, with the addition of banks and ditches—and, above all, the fact of its communicating directly between the stations of Cappuck and Newstead, seem to point unmistakably to the conclusion of its having been used, and probably laid down, by the Romans.

The second road mentioned by Jeffrey is the Wheel Causey—a supposed continuation of a great Roman military road, described by archæologists as running from Overburgh in Lancashire to Bewcastle in Cumberland, and known as the Maiden Way. Jeffrey asserts that it crosses the Border line at Deadwater, proceeding almost due north by Bagrawford and past the ruins of a chapel known as the Wheel Church, and so on over the summit of Neideslaw to the eastern slope of Wolfhopelee, beyond which point its course becomes mere matter of conjecture. Jeffrey's critic, however, confines himself to saying that in medieval and later days, when the Maiden Way was in use as a drove-road, a continuation of it into Scotland would be necessary, and in this sense the Wheel Causey may be spoken of as its continuation. But that the latter was ever a Roman road the evidence before us does not justify us in concluding.

As in the case of the roads, so with the Roman camps of the Border counties there remains much scope for scientific investigation. Among the latter, that upon which the light of recent antiquarian research has been best brought to bear is the recently discovered station at Cappuck, near Jedburgh, which has been discussed by Dr Joseph Anderson in an article in the 'Scotsman.'¹ The remains were discovered at a depth of some 18 inches below the present surface, all but the three or four lowest courses of the mason-work having been removed for building operations in the neighbourhood,

¹ Under date May 21, 1887.

where it is on record that at least one farm-steading has been built from their materials. Of the remaining stones, many are "dressed to the rectangular form of nearly a cube and a half so common in Roman masonry, and have their faces dressed with the diamond broaching which is so characteristic of all the Roman stone-work." The buildings occupy the crown of a "bluff," formed by the junction of a rivulet with the Oxnam Water; and, commanding as they do the latter stream at the point where it is crossed by the Watling Street, it is pointed out by the writer above-named that their position is evidently chosen with a view to the protection of the ford. So far as they have yet been excavated, they exhibit a ground-plan consisting of an oblong chamber or court of 60 feet in length, the walls being over 3 feet thick, in rear of which are several smaller buildings, less massive in construction; whilst adjoining the end next the Oxnam are a number of more irregularly shaped structures, one of which is semicircular, and at some distance from the opposite end of the larger building the foundations of another, nearly as large, have been laid bare. In rear these buildings appear to have been protected by some kind of circumvallation, which is now traceable only by a slight depression in the field.

The walls of the main building show buttress-like projections at about every 6 feet, with an opening of some 9 inches passing through the wall midway between every two of the projections; whilst round the front of this part of the building, and converging towards the irregularly-shaped foundations of the one end, is a series of conduits, which may have been either drains or flues "for the passage of hot air from a heating-chamber outside to the interior of the main building by means of the openings between the buttress-like projections." It may, then, be supposed that the buttress-like projections were not buttresses, but solid supports of an

external platform or verandah running round the building at the height of the floor, which, in Roman remains of the kind in Britain, is always found placed at some height above the ground-level, the basement being used for cellarge and heating. The workmanship, so far as is seen, is rude; but this is accounted for by the circumstance of only the lower courses of the basement being left, whilst indications of a more finished superstructure are not wanting. Besides the dressing of the stones above mentioned, fragments of the large square Roman bricks and of a somewhat artificial kind of roofing-tile have been found, together with pieces of concrete of considerable thickness, having a smooth upper surface, upon which floor-tiles may have been laid. The military character of the settlement is argued, not only from its situation, but from the finding within it of fragments of weapons, such as iron spear-heads and the bosses of shields, as well as the bronze ornaments of the trappings and harness of horses; and Dr Anderson has even speculated that the vexillation of the Rhætian spearmen, under the command of Julius Severinus, the tribune, may have been quartered here when they carved and dedicated an altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which is now built, face downwards, into the turret stair of Jedburgh Abbey. Besides vessels of various forms in the slate-coloured and dark bluish-grey ware manufactured in the Roman potteries of Britain, fragments of handsome dishes, formed of the highly prized red lustrous ware called Samian, together with broken wine-jars of large size, which have been found among the ruins, bear witness, as the same authority thinks, to the luxurious life led by the Roman officers stationed here. Of two coins which have been picked up, one is a silver denarius of the Emperor Domitian, struck A.D. 83, the other a brass coin of Trajan, struck A.D. 116.

From Cappuck, as has been said, the Watling Street runs

on in a north-westerly direction towards the triple summits of the Eildons; and though we are not justified in claiming these as the Roman Trimontium, yet in this neighbourhood—namely, at Newstead on the Tweed—there have been discovered vestiges of a Roman settlement or Roman-British village. Here were traditions of old buildings; here, as before, Roman pottery has been found, together with two stones bearing a rich carved moulding, including as its central member a rope or cable pattern, of frequent occurrence in Roman work.¹ The chief interest of the site, however, consists in its possession of a cemetery, in which an excessively peculiar mode of burial, better known in Gaul than in Britain, has been carried on. This was discovered in 1846, when a cutting for the Hawick line of the North British Railway was being made. The graves consisted of deep circular pits, like draw-wells, lined with masonry, some of them being as much as 20 feet deep, and from 2 feet 6 inches to 4 feet in diameter; whilst the bodies buried in them are seen to have been unburnt, and accompanied by bones of oxen, horses, and other domestic animals, by coins, iron weapons, and pottery. In one pit in particular a human skeleton was found in an erect position, with an iron spear beside it. Of even greater interest than these, however, are two votive altars discovered beneath the surface of the neighbouring fields, the

¹ Here about the year 1845 were discovered, in cutting a drain, the foundations of a structure of mason-work, which has been described by Jeffrey (vol. i. p. 273) as enclosing a space 54 feet in length, and as increasing gradually in breadth from the opening to the other extremity, where it is closed by a semicircular wall,—the whole forming, “from being bent considerably, a figure somewhat resembling a chemist’s retort.” This enclosure Jeffrey takes to have been a vault or heating-chamber. Its walls were only one stone thick, and seem to have been built without mortar. Later authorities, however, pronounce this building to be an *airde-house* of Celtic origin (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xii. p. 350).

one in 1783, the other in 1830. Of these the former measures about 2 feet in length by a foot in breadth, and bears an inscription of which the following is a translation: "To the deities presiding over contests in the Campus, sacred. Ælius Marcus, a decurion of the wing of the Vocontian cavalry (styled) the August, dedicates this altar in discharge of a vow willingly and justly performed."¹ The second altar measures 43 inches by 18, and its inscription has been translated as follows: "To the god Silvanus, for his own and his soldiers' safety, Carrius Domitianus, the centurion of the Twentieth Legion, (surnamed) the Valiant and Victorious, fulfils his vow justly and most willingly."² In addition to the above, a stone having carved upon it in bold relief a wild boar, which is known to have been the symbol of the Twentieth Legion, was also found in the neighbourhood.

It is much to be wished that the remaining so-called Roman camps of the district had been examined with as much care as those described above. Of these there is good ground for supposing that the camp at Lyne in Peeblesshire would prove to be one of the very few in Scotland, exclusive of the forts in rear of the Antonine Vallum, for which an authentic Roman origin might be established. The camp is a fine one, the cleared space within the successive mounds and ditches measuring 575

¹ "Campestribus sacrum Ælius Marcus, Decurio Alæ Augustæ Vocontio[rum], votum solvit libentissime merito."

² "Deo Silvano, pro salute suâ et suorum, Carrius Domitianus, centurio Legionis Vicesimæ Valentis Victricis, votum solvit libentissime, merito." It is possible that Silvanus may have been a British deity. At any rate Nennius, in his fabulous account of the origin of the Britons (cap. x., sometimes omitted), tells how Brutus, son of Silvius (one of the sons of Æneas, and so called because his mother concealed herself during her pregnancy in a wood), becoming an outcast from his country, made his way to Britain, and there founded the race of the Sylvans.

feet by 475 feet; and as its outline is gradually growing more and more indistinct—a fact to which Chambers drew attention many years ago¹—it is highly desirable that no time be lost in subjecting it to thorough examination.

This camp is figured in Roy's 'Military Antiquities,' which work also furnishes a plan, dated 1774, of what is there called "Agricola's Camp" at Towford, in Roxburghshire. The latter is said to be of the earlier, or Polybian, type of Roman temporary camp, and the author is of opinion that most of the camps which resemble it were actually occupied by Agricola during his campaigns in North Britain—a conclusion which he bases upon the ground that shortly after the era of Agricola a new system of castrametation, known as the Hyginian, was adopted by the Romans. Pending further investigation, however, it may be expedient to accept the conclusions of this authority only for what they may prove to be worth.

The absence of Roman remains throughout Selkirkshire, where no traces of the conquering race have been discovered, is surprising, and has inclined the historian of the county² to believe that the conquerors may have been able to hold in check the inhabitants of the forest-covered valleys of Ettrick and Yarrow by means of a fort located at Kippilaw. But the authenticity of this fort must be acknowledged as doubtful.

Such, then, is a sketch—so far as up to the present one can be furnished—of the remains of the Roman occupation of our district. Did space admit, it might, no doubt, be amplified by detail; but we must here content ourselves with main features as with well-ascertained facts. For in this summary all that is based upon mere unsupported hypothesis has been either deliberately rejected or stated for what it is worth. Of this the fancy which sees traces of a Roman

¹ History of Peeblesshire, p. 25.

² Craig-Brown's History of Selkirkshire, vol. i. p. 32.

method of cultivation in the peculiar terraces visible on some of our hillsides, as at Romanno in Peeblesshire and Oakwood Mill in Selkirk, may serve as an example. Of that, as of other ingenious theories, all that can with safety be said is that they may or may not be well grounded. And to-day the methods so admirably satirised in 'The Antiquary,' by which any intrenchment not otherwise accounted for became a Roman camp, and any old sword or spear discovered was spoken of as a *gladius* or a *hasta*—these methods, already beginning to be discredited in the days of Sir Walter Scott, are happily no more. The results of careful inductive reasoning, stated with due caution and accuracy, have supplanted them; and if to some of us the first consequence of the exchange has been the loss of cherished illusions, we have at least gained in return the bracing knowledge that the ground on which we stand is firm. A rich mine of investigation, too, lies now before instead of behind us—for paradoxical though it may seem, it is perhaps scarcely too much to say that adequate knowledge of the Roman antiquities at our command in the country lies in the future rather than in the past. Perhaps it is impossible at present to form any just idea of the degree to which Roman influence permeated the Border country, and probably the general tendency is greatly to underrate this. And in order to be in a position to gauge it, it is at least necessary to remember not only that, though repeatedly traversed and interrupted, that influence was in action during a period of above three hundred years—viz., from A.D. 80 to 410—but also that it was the glory of Rome and the secret of her peculiar greatness that with her to conquer was to assimilate, and that wherever the power of her arms extended she made not so much subjects as Romans. Besides this, it must be remembered that York became the seat of the Roman government, and that the

Roman military power in the country was concentrated upon the southern wall. The relics of Roman dominion now in our possession may be few and fragmentary, yet the appeal made through them to our common humanity is often irresistible; for surely it would be difficult to read without sympathy to-day the words in which, nearly two thousand years ago, an upright and simple-minded soldier records his vow discharged after perils past, or to contemplate without emotion such a find as that made at Cappuck, where a pretty bracelet has been brought to light which is seen to have been cut down and bent together so as to fit a tinier wrist than that for which it had first been fashioned.

It now only remains, for the sake of continuity of narrative, to run rapidly over the outstanding events of the Roman occupation of Scotland. In marking off and securing his conquests by a line of forts, Agricola had been content to avail himself of the convenient isthmus between the Firths of Forth and Clyde; but even this moderate annexation appears to have been untenable. For when, some thirty years later, the wise Hadrian visited Britain, he judged it expedient to draw in his limit to a line extending from the Firth of Solway to the mouth of Tyne, on which he raised his famous wall, 73 miles long and 20 feet high, and garrisoned by 15,000 men. Whether the cause of this renunciation was of a military or an economical character, whether he had found the new country not worth holding or too difficult to hold, that country was not destined to be long abandoned. Early in the reign of Antoninus, A.D. 138-161, Lollius Urbicus, who had been appointed lieutenant of the Roman emperor in Britain, resumed possession of the south of Scotland, and maintaining his authority there, proceeded to connect the old forts of Agricola by a rampart. On the above events as they affected the Borders, coins found at Newstead throw some

light. Among them are pieces of the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus, as well as of Faustina the Elder, empress of the last named, which probably argue the occupation of the settlement during these reigns. And to the period now reached, from the regular succession of the coins, their number and condition, it is suggested that the principal occupation of the station may be ascribed, although from its situation on the great north road, as well as its nearness to the consolidated conquests of Albion, its origin may well belong to a much earlier, and even to the earliest, period.¹

To Antoninus succeeded Marcus Aurelius, who reigned till the year 180.

In the first year of his successor, Commodus, there was an irruption of the natives through the Roman Wall, and it so happens that no coins of the eighty or ninety years following have been found at Newstead. The cause of this may be that the station was then temporarily abandoned. In the year 208 the Emperor Severus made his great expedition into Scotland, forcing his way, in the face of unheard-of difficulties, and at a cost of 50,000 men, to the extreme north of the country, and it is in the narrative of this time that we first hear the name Mæatians applied, as it seems, to the inhabitants of the district lying between the two walls. The next coins catalogued at Newstead are of the reigns of Victorinus (265-267) and Diocletian, not forgetting one of Carausius, the Belgic Gaul, who at this time revolted from Rome, and sailing for Britain with the fleet intrusted to his charge, usurped the dominion there, and ruled for eight years. For by this time such regularity as had ever existed in the succession of the emperors was no more. They appeared almost as they pleased, two or more

¹ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. i. p. 36.

at a time, and Rome itself was deserted by them in favour of more convenient centres.

The upstart Carausius fell by the treachery of Allectus, his associate, from whom Britain was recaptured by Constantius the Pale, successor to Maximian, who had shared the Empire with Diocletian. Several coins of Constantius (A.D. 305) have been found in the neighbourhood of Newstead, but none of any later date. To Constantius, who had died at York whilst on an expedition against the turbulent natives north of the wall, succeeded his son Constantine, afterwards called the Great; whilst from Valentinian, who followed the latter emperor after an interval of twenty-seven years, the country between the two walls, becoming for a time a province of Roman Britain, received the name of Valentia.

CHAPTER II.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE ROMANS — PREHISTORIC REMAINS IN THE BORDER COUNTIES: CAVES, CAMPS, PREHISTORIC TOWN ON EILDON, BROCH AT TORWOODLEE, THE CATRAIL, STANDING-STONES, CUP-MARKINGS, CISTS, MISCELLANEOUS FINDS — LEGENDARY OR SEMI-LEGENDARY CHARACTERS: KING ARTHUR, MERLIN—IDA—THE KINGDOM OF BERNICIA—THE KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA—BATTLE OF DEGSASTANE.

FROM the fragmentary reports which have reached us of the events of the succeeding years, three things are plainly apparent: the demoralisation of the central power, the enervation of the Romanised Briton, and the increasing uncontrollableness of the unsubdued natives to the north of Antonine's Wall. As the Empire hastened faster and faster towards disintegration, so these natives grew more and more audacious, until we even hear of a predatory inroad made by them upon London itself, already at that time a flourishing city. The repressive measures of Theodosius the Elder, father of the emperor of that name, restored for a time the province of Valentia. But it was not for long. The world was now in a turmoil, the end of the old order was already in sight, and in the first ten or twelve years of the fifth century the very connection of Rome with what are now the Border counties may be said to have been formally and finally terminated by the Emperor Honorius's withdrawal of his troops from Britain, and his recommendation to the colonists to seek the protection of the more settled country

lying to the south of the southern wall. Thus Valentia by that name disappears from history.

It has already been said that this period of our local history is swallowed up in night. True it is that certain monuments, or memorials, frequently assigned to it, remain, and that in the Border counties these are numerous. But they remain for the most part only to confront us with insoluble enigmas, and to provoke unavailing conjecture. For whether they do indeed belong to the period which we have now reached, and not to some more remote, pre-Roman period; whether they present the native handiwork of those Caledonians who faced the Roman arms, or of some earlier pre-Celtic people of whom no record is preserved,—it is alike impossible to say. In these circumstances, all that can be done is to supply the reader with a brief descriptive catalogue of such local remains—the briefer in that a separate volume of the present series has been set apart to deal generally and exclusively with the like.

Possibly the most ancient among such puzzling works of antiquity are the artificial caves which may be seen cut in the old red sandstone of the banks of Teviot and of four of her tributaries—namely, the Ale, the Jed, the Kale, and the Oxnam. That they are indeed artificial is established beyond a doubt, whilst the ruinous condition of by far the greater number of them, caused by the natural processes of weathering and denudation, seems to speak to an origin exceedingly remote. Upon careful examination¹ they have been found to conform to a general type. Thus most of them are approximately at right angles to the present face of the cliff; whilst their floor-levels invariably follow the surface of the rock-beds, which here are very nearly horizontal. With a single exception, the longer axis of all the caves is a straight line;

¹ Article by Mr James Wilson in the 'Scotsman,' 26th December 1890.

their height—of an average of 7 feet—varies only to a trifling extent, and the angles formed by the junction of floor and sides are slightly rounded. The length of the most perfect floor is 27 feet. The roofs incline to the barrel-shape, and there is reason to believe that in the original plan the entrance was by a low and narrow passage, from which the caves afterwards bulged out, each having thus somewhat the shape of a bottle with a short neck. At Grahamslaw, on the Kale, the caves are placed in two tiers, the one above the other, and it is thought that the upper tier was entered from above. Besides that no known geological cause would account for the existence of these caves, their human origin is proved by the fact that their walls and roofs show marks of an excavating tool, though one unknown to modern use.

The caves at Crailing were discovered only some thirty years ago, their mouths being up to that period concealed by the brushwood by which the cliff is overgrown, and on this ground it has been suggested that other caves of the same type may exist unknown in the neighbourhood. In Crailing House are preserved various bones of animals, and fragments of charcoal and glass, besides portions of a spur, a comb, and a tobacco-pipe, found in the caves at the time of their discovery. Some of these articles of course prove a comparatively recent occupation, and it is therefore thought that the ancient caves may have been brought into use again as refuges and hiding-places by persecuted Covenanters and smugglers.

The prehistoric forts, or “British camps,” of the Border country, as they are less peculiar to the district, although very numerous there, need not be considered in detail. They are found distributed over the three counties under consideration, though a large area of Selkirkshire, comprising the upper and

middle valleys of Ettrick and Yarrow, is without them. Dr Christison supplies a list of seventy-six of such camps in Peeblesshire alone,¹ and has also made a careful study of many others in the counties of Selkirk and Roxburgh.² Of the former we learn that the great majority are found in elevated situations, not, indeed, upon the higher ridges or table-lands, but on the "terminal spurs" of the above, or on isolated hills. A few are also found situated on gentle slopes, or at the bottom of valleys. Their situations are generally chosen so as to command an extensive view; and as each fort is, generally speaking, within sight of others, it is thought that intelligence may have been signalled between them. As regards form, the circumvallations are almost invariably curvilinear, tending, when uncontrolled by the nature of the ground, to the circle or ellipse—one of the few exceptions to this rule being noticeable in a single side of the fort at Mill Rings. Our authority inclines to believe that at least two-thirds of the forts were originally constructed mainly, if not wholly, of stone, and he cites examples of stone *chevaux-de-frise* which may be seen at West Cademuir and at Dreva. The earthen construction, on the other hand, is met with at Harehope Rings and Harehope Fort, and a mixed architecture at Milkiston. In very few instances is the inner enclosure less than 150 yards in circumference, whilst in several cases it exceeds 400 yards. The arrangement and details of the defence-works are different in almost every case—comprising concentric circumvallations placed close together, as at Harehope Rings and Northshield; the same with wide intervening spaces, as at Blythbank Hill and Milkiston; ramparts intended to serve merely as a parapet, as at Harehope Fort; ramparts widened and levelled at the top, so as to afford

¹ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xxi. p. 82.

² Ibid., vol. xxix. pp. 108-179.

standing room for the defenders, as at Northshield and Blyth Hill and many other varieties. Chambers¹ inclined to divide the forts of his county into two classes, assigning to the period of the Roman invasion the smaller and more simply constructed class, and the larger and more complex varieties to the period when the natives might be supposed to have profited by observing the methods of the conquering race. He further notes that the situations of forts of the latter type—such as Northshield Rings and Milkiston on Eddleston, and Whiteside and Henderland on Lyne—are chosen as if with a view to defending the passes into the interior of the mountain district from enemies on the west and east, perhaps Scoto-Irish in the first instance and Angle or Frisian in the second. On the other hand, a secondary system, consisting of forts of the smaller type, among which may be specified Cademuir and Janet's Brae, follow the line of Tweed, and seem to have been destined for defence against enemies from another quarter. Plausible, however, as this theory may be, it can scarcely be accepted as established.²

Of the remaining forts, it may suffice to say that they are most frequently found near the smaller streams, being particularly numerous on those which run from the Cheviots to the Teviot, and on the head-waters of that river. But, though near the streams, the forts are generally placed at a considerable height above them. Including those on Teviot itself, they number fully a hundred, whilst on the northern slopes of the Cheviots, at the head of Bowmont, are thirteen more. On Ettrick and Yarrow, on the other hand, there are

¹ History of Peebles, pp. 30, 31.

² Dr Christison warns us against regarding the construction of these forts as *necessarily* belonging to a very remote period, and cites instances of similar structures in Ireland shown to have been abandoned only in the sixth century, whilst others were *erected* even down to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries (Proceedings, vol. xxi. p. 79).

but nine, all, as has been said, upon the lower waters of these rivers. Out of so large a total of camps it is only possible to particularise a few which present special features. Thus the small one at Muirhouselaw, of which three sides remain, is rectilinear, and exhibits a scarp sloping at various inclinations.¹ At Oakwood Mill there is another rectangular work. The fort at Kirkton was probably of stone, whilst in the large and elaborate works at Rink Hill the use of stone is also very apparent. Here the fortifications consist of a main defence, which was probably formed by a mound of earth and stones, with a stone wall on the top, protected by a trench and an outer rampart. The single entrance was skilfully defended, and there are also traces of external works. The fort at Ringley Hall on the Tweed, a little below Rutherford, is of the type which rests on the unfortified edge of a steep descent to a river as a base, and has a triple, semi-oval, terraced fortification on the landward side. This terrace-work serves to ally it to the "motes," or fortresses defended by palisades, of which the best-known local example is the flat-topped mound which forms, so to speak, the citadel of the town of Hawick.² It has been erroneously described as a sepulchral tumulus,³ but I believe that there is no known instance in Scotland of a similar heap of earth having been thrown up, in prehistoric times, for burial purposes.

But the most important of all these fortresses, and indeed the largest known example of its kind in Scotland, is that which, from the crown of the easternmost Eildon, dominates the pass, by the river Tweed, from the open country of the

¹ It slopes steeply for 3 feet, then gently for 6 feet, and then again steeply for 9 feet.

² A writer in the 'Quarterly Review' (No. 357) maintains that "motes" were still in use at the time of the Norman Conquest, and probably at a still later date.

³ Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, vol. vii. p. 74.

Borders to the hill district of central Scotland.¹ And that the importance of the position was recognised by the natives is proved by the existence of this fortress, or fortified town, no less than the existence of the Roman remains at Newstead shows it to have been recognised by the Romans, with whose great north road noticed above the pass communicates. The system of defence adopted in the stronghold is thought to have been by palisades, crowning the three terraces which form a circle round the summit of the hill, and whose circumference extends to nearly a mile. Within the enclosure thus formed rises a high plateau of ground, on which are noticeable a large number of horseshoe-shaped marks or hollows, held by antiquarians to indicate the site of huts constructed of perishable material. And in confirmation of this theory it may be stated that digging within the circles has brought to light charcoal, clay, and a fragment of coarse pottery of the kind known as early British. It is also noticeable that the old town was self-contained to the extent of possessing its own water-springs.

The single example of a "broch" known to exist in our three counties must not be passed over in silence. At Torwoodlee, on the north-eastern confines of Selkirkshire, on a commanding situation about 300 feet above the river Gala, were recently discovered the remains of a circular building of this class,² of which the total diameter measured some 75 feet, and that of the enclosed court 40. The enclosing wall will thus be seen to have been of an average thickness of 17 feet 6 inches. The entrance passage, placed on the east side, bears traces of arrangements for a door, whilst at right angles to it is a second small passage, communicating with a guard-room, contrived within the thickness

¹ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xxviii. p. 111 *et seq.*

² Proceedings, vol. xxvi. p. 71.

of the wall. A second chamber, on the south-west side, similarly contrived, but following the curve of the wall, contains remains of a staircase for communication with the upper galleries of the tower. The wall appears to have been faced with large boulders and lined with smaller stones, the interval being filled with loose rubble; and it is remarked that the entrance is placed at the lowest point of the slope on which the building rests, so that it may serve to draw off moisture from within. The broch itself stands in a large enclosure formed by mounds and a ditch, and the whole is further strengthened by a secondary intrenchment at some distance, of which, however, but a portion remains. The articles found in the interior differ in a striking manner from those found in similar buildings in the north—the fragments of pottery belonging to an advanced stage of civilisation, and being undoubtedly of Roman make, whence it is suggested that they may have been introduced from the Roman station at Newstead, some six miles off. Articles of native manufacture found beside them belong to the late Celtic period. It thus appears that the broch, a building of Celtic origin, was in use at a time when Roman civilisation still existed in the country. To the inhabitants of the locality the works are now known as Torwoodlee Rings, or Eye Castle.

Connected with the fortifications at Torwoodlee, which are held to form its starting-point or extremity,¹ is the mysterious earthwork called the Catrail, or Picts' Work Dyke, than which perhaps few monuments of antiquity have more exercised or perplexed the antiquarian. The work consists of a double mound with intervening trench; and though often

¹ It is marked on the Ordnance Survey map as winding up the southern slope of the hill and entering the intrenchments; but this may be incorrect. At any rate, no trace of it can now be found near the top of the hill.

broken or effaced—for the forces of order and disorder, the strife of the natural elements, and the labour of the hand of man, have conspired against it—it continually reappears, so that its course has been traced for a distance of no less than forty-eight miles, when, by a winding and circuitous route through the counties of Selkirk and Roxburgh, it reaches Peel Fell in the Cheviots, on the borders of Northumberland. According to the late Professor Veitch,¹ who made a careful examination of the ground, the breadth of the work in its broader parts, taking from the centre of one rampart to the centre of the other, measures from 23 feet 6 inches to 18 feet 6 inches, whilst the breadth of the ditch is 6 feet, and the slope from the centre of the rampart to the centre of the ditch-bottom 10 feet. Professor Veitch, collated with Mr Craig-Brown and Mr Smail,² gives the following as the line of its course. Passing north-westward from the slope of Peel Fell, where intrenchments may be seen resembling in character those at its northern extremity, it intersects the Wheel Causey, and crossing the Caddron and Dawston burns, proceeds up the left bank of Cliffhope burn, where, after being very plainly marked at “The Abbey,” it disappears for a long way. During part of this distance it is thought that it may have been transformed into the Galloway Road, an old road by which coal used to be transported on galloways from the English pits to Hawick. Reappearing near the head-waters of Slitrig, it crosses Leap, Harwood, and Langside burns, passing the foot of Maiden’s Paps, and climbs Pike Fell, a hill 1500 feet high, being at this, its most plainly marked point, so distinct as to be visible six or eight miles off. Where it has been levelled, it is said to be generally traceable by a difference in the shade of its

¹ History and Poetry of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 187.

² History of Selkirkshire, vol. i. p. 36.

vegetation, bents being lighter in colour on its track and grass greener, whilst snow is also found to lie there longer unmelted. Descending Pike Fell, it runs on with occasional breaks, crossing Allan Water and Teviot, winding up Commonsides Hill, and passing to the east of Broadlee Loch by Hoscot burn into the valley of the Rankle burn. Hence it takes an almost due northerly direction as far as Nether Deloraine, and again as far as Yarrow Church, whence, curving to the eastward, it touches and is intersected by an intrenchment occupied by Wallace in 1296, and called by his name. Thence, inclining southward, it passes to the south of the Three Brethren and of Linglee Hill, where it turns again and runs north by east to the fortifications on Rink Hill. From this point it has been much defaced, yet it is on record that within living memory a blind man with the aid of his staff might have followed it from here to Mossilee, from which point it winds home to Torwoodlee.

A work so remarkable for its extent, and still more for the obscurity of its purpose, has naturally not escaped the attention of antiquarians. It has, in fact, given rise to a world of speculation, and to theories of which the number is apparently not yet exhausted, and of which the most plausible are those which have in turn pronounced it a road, a boundary, and a work of defence. Of these the first may probably be rejected without hesitation. For not only must the Catrail have been at all times ill adapted for traffic, but it is evident also to such as have followed its course that it makes no attempt to avail itself of fords or to steer clear of precipices, being continued to the verge of these, as to that of impracticable places on rivers, and resumed with apparent indifference upon the other side—objections to the road conjecture which appear unanswerable. Again, against the theory of its use as a boundary pure and simple there is

urged the arbitrary character of its course, which runs across country in apparent defiance of all such natural aids to a line of demarcation as the course of rivers and the ridges of hills. If a boundary at all, thinks Professor Veitch, it was a military one. He thence assumes it to have been strengthened by palisades, after the manner in use at the time; and despite the obvious difficulty of defending a line of such extent, this theory certainly seems to derive great support from the fact that the Catrail is found to rest against a succession of fortified works, of which those at Rink Hill, Raelees, Swinebraehill, and Teindside burn are quoted as examples. These forts are placed, as a rule, near the summits of hills, whilst the line of the defensive work runs along "mid-brae," and on the eastern face of the hills. And this last fact has led Professor Veitch to assign its authorship to the period following the evacuation of the country by the Roman legions, when the Cymri, or Britons, pressed upon by the inroads of the Angles on the east, had withdrawn into their western fastnesses, and there, as we must suppose, intrenched themselves. In confirmation of which theory the same authority also fancies that he sees in the Catrail an imperfect copy, by a feebler hand, of the earth-works attached to the great southern wall of Hadrian. This attempt to solve a mystery, which time may almost be said to have consecrated as a mystery, has at least the merits of clearness and plausibility to recommend it. At the same time, it must not be held to have finally disposed of the difficulties of the subject, which as a field for investigation and speculation continues up to the present still unclosed. It only remains to add that the name Catrail does not help us much towards the elucidation of the thing to which it is applied; for though the search for its meaning has evoked much erudition, in the very wealth of various conjecture

there lurk the seeds of mistrust. Suffice it, then, to say that Professor Veitch finds the nearest approach to the word in the Cornish *cad*, signifying "battle," and *treyle*, "to turn"; whence Catrail, "a battle-turning," "a defence." Another investigator has observed that by those who have lived in the vicinity of the work, and who may therefore be supposed to follow the ancient custom in the matter of pronunciation, the word is invariably spoken with the accent on the second syllable.¹

Among other prehistoric remains, or remains reputed as such, in the Border counties, besides the eirde-house at Newstead already noticed,² it is sufficient merely to enumerate, for example, Standing-Stones—such as the small circle on Hownam Steeple known as the Shearers and the Bandster, to which, by the way, popular imagination has attached a legend of judgment against Sabbath-breakers; or the single upright stone at Midshiels on the Teviot; or those on Sheriff Muir in Peeblesshire, which Chambers thinks may have been placed as monuments over the graves of native heroes; or those, again, on a moor near Yarrow Kirk, where in the end of the eighteenth century some twenty cairns were supposed to mark the resting-places of those who had fallen in a battle, the graves of the leaders on either side being marked by standing-stones.³ In Peeblesshire, again, on a flat stone lying on the

¹ The Catrail seems fated to be the shuttlecock of antiquarians. Since the above was written, a more recent investigator, Mr Francis Lynn, has revived the road theory, claiming to have discovered that the Catrail is in reality not one line but a series of lines, connecting various parts of the country for pacific purposes. The same authority also claims for it a pre-Roman origin. Probably the only conclusion which may safely be arrived at is, that it is one of a class of prehistoric works which exist in England, Scotland, and Wales, the object of which is entirely unknown!

² P. 9, note.

³ In the same neighbourhood there is another historical stone, which, however, belongs to a different category. It bears in Latin an undecipherable sepulchral inscription, supposed to belong to the post-Roman period, and is perhaps the solitary quasi-Roman relic of Selkirkshire.

slope of the fort at Lour, are two "cups," measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and an inch in depth, and exhibiting perfect symmetry in their form and position on the stone: they have been thought to be genuine examples of "rock-markings." As for cists, as lately as the spring of 1885 one which contained human bones was turned up in ploughing at Mosstower, near Eckford; whilst later in the same year a field called the Mansehill in the same neighbourhood yielded two more.

This brings us to the department of "finds," and here also — as is evidenced by the finding of two cinerary urns at Chesters on the Teviot no longer ago than in 1897, and of another on the northern slope of the Dunian Hill in 1885 — the antiquarian may be encouraged to hope for many further discoveries. These urns, which contain the remains of charred bones, are ornamented with no little art, and are of a height of 12 or 13 inches, with wide mouths upon which they stand, supported by a slab or saucer. Besides other specimens of the above, the local museums show the usual collections of implements, weapons, and ornaments of the Stone and Bronze Ages, in addition to which there may be specified, as of particular interest, two bronze shields dug up at Yetholm, and some gold ornaments from Peebles or its neighbourhood, which are preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

It is to the period to which we have assigned the Catrail that the first among the legendary, or semi-legendary, heroes of the Border country belongs; whilst it is primarily to the labours of a recent investigator, Mr Stuart Glennie,¹ that that

¹ *Arthurian Localities: their Historical Origin, Chief Country, and Fingalian Relations.* By J. S. Stuart Glennie. See also Skene's edition of the 'Four Ancient Books of Wales.' Mr Glennie's conclusions—which may be said to be sustained by Nennius in so far as that writer, our authority for King Arthur, deals mostly with the affairs of the northern part of the kingdom—are based upon tradition, upon the preponderance of

country owes it that she may now formally put forth the claim, heretofore advanced only in a tentative manner, to be the scene of some of King Arthur's exploits. At the same time it must not be forgotten that, large as is the place filled by that hero in romance, his mere existence as a historical character may be said to rest upon the exiguous evidence of a passage in the history of Nennius, in which that author, writing probably in the eighth century, deals with events supposed to have happened early in the sixth. The reader may recall the story which tells how, in the period of terror succeeding the withdrawal of the Roman legions, the British king, desiring aid against the Picts and Scots of the north and west, had given the Jute, Hengist, a footing in his kingdom (449). Vortigern, who in the pages of Nennius figures as a type of British demoralisation, had soon cause to repent of his bargain. The followers of Hengist, barbarians wholly untouched either by Roman civilisation or the softening influence of Christianity, quickly multiplied in the land, and it was in the long wars arising out of their immigration, and that of other Teutonic tribes which followed them, that first Ambrosius Aurelianus and then Arthur came to the front. Ambrosius claimed descent from the last Roman Emperor of Britain. The birth of Arthur, which must be dated somewhere in the latter part of the fifth century, was less distinguished; for we are informed that it was to merit, not to blood, that he owed his advancement.¹ Of course it would be easy to invest with interest a hero in whose honour the treasures of romantic imagination have been so lavishly expended, but we must

Arthurian place-names, and upon the results of Mr Skene's critical studies of the ancient Welsh writings. But the validity of these conclusions remains for the present an open question.

¹ Fordun's account is somewhat different. He makes out Arthur to be, so to speak, of the blood royal, though not direct heir to the crown (*Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, book iii. chap. 25).

take leave to remind the reader that it is solely with Arthur's local connection and historical character that we are here concerned. Twelve times, then, as we read, was he chosen commander, and in as many battles was he victorious. Of these battles, though they are most of them supposed by our authority to have been fought in the south of Scotland, it happens that the scenes of at most two are identified as within what we here call the Border counties. The first is the battle of Coit Celidon, or the Wood of Celidon, identified by Mr Glennie with the district of which Ettrick Forest formed a part. It is in the next battle after this—namely, that of Castle Guinnion in Wedale (or the Vale of Gala)—that Arthur appears in the character of the champion of the Christian faith, bearing the image of the Holy Virgin on his shoulders, putting the heathen to flight, and pursuing them with great slaughter all day long.¹ After four more battles, peace with the enemy was established, and Gildas, the supposed contemporary historian—whose ignoring of Arthur in his history of these times is one of the greatest difficulties in the way of our accepting that hero as other than a mythical character—at least bears out Nennius in so far as to state that, after the last of these battles, which he mentions by name, a long peace between Britons and Angles supervened.² Nevertheless, war broke out again in another direction. How Modred, Arthur's nephew, whom, according to Fordun, he had blamelessly supplanted on the throne, now avenged himself by perverting the queen and raising a rebellion—this is familiar to all lovers of romance. In a battle fought against the rebels, Arthur fell, but not as meaner warriors fall; for legend tells that, in a vault beneath the Eildon Hills, he still awaits in an enchanted sleep, sur-

¹ Nennius, cap. 50.

² Gildas, cap. 26, A.D. 516; Skene, vol. i. p. 143.

rounded by his knighthood, the bugle-blast which some day shall arouse him to live and act once more.

Indissolubly associated with Arthur in the popular imagination, though in reality belonging to a somewhat later period (he flourished about 570), is Merlin, the poet and prophet of the old British kingdom. The tradition which connects his name with the Borders may be stated in few words. At this time there still lingered, side by side with Christianity, in the northern parts of the kingdom, the old religion of the country, and hence, the representatives of two royal houses having come forward as respective champions of the rival faiths, a civil war arose. In this contest Merlin, who espoused the cause of paganism, found himself confronted with St Kentigern. A battle was fought, which has been localised at Arthuret, near Carlisle,¹ where Merlin's leader was routed and slain. Grief deprived the poet of his reason, and he fled across the wilds of Liddesdale to Ettrick Forest, and there wandered distraught. There his few remaining companions perished, and finally he himself was attacked by the shepherds of Meldred, a neighbouring chieftain, and stoned to death, his body, impaled upon a stake, being cast into the Tweed. It was afterwards buried at Drummelzier, in Tweeddale, where his traditional grave, a large green mound over which grows an aged thorn, is still pointed out. His character has been thought to represent the old British type of the poetical or intellectual temperament in conflict with a rude age.² After his death, the Britons, gradually ousted from their northern possessions, sought a last refuge in Wales, where the traditions which they carried with them are supposed to have adapted themselves to their new local surroundings.

¹ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 157.

² Article on the "Scottish Origin of the Merlin Myth," by Arthur Grant, in the '*Scottish Review*' for October 1892.

We now turn to the eastern division of the Border-land, and it is important that the line of cleavage which at this time divided that country be clearly borne in mind. As a part of the country lying between the two Roman Walls, what we now call the Border counties had already figured in a kind of No-Man's-Land—now formally included within the pale of the Roman influence, and again abandoned to its fate; and they were destined still to split into various fragments, and to form part of various dominions, before becoming, so to speak, finally crystallised in their present shape as southern counties of Scotland. While the events just described may be supposed to have been happening, a line which we have ventured to identify with the Catrail,¹ running in a north-westerly direction, seems to have marked off portions of the present shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles as belonging to the kingdom of Strathclyde—the name given by the ancient inhabitants of the country to the remnant of their former possessions which they still held. To the east of that line the progress of the invasion from the country which we would now call North-West Germany had been rapid. The invasion, so far as it is known to history, had begun with the landing of Hengist, though there is some ground for suspecting that, even before his time, a settlement of Frisians in the valley of the Tweed had been effected.² This, however, is little more than surmise, and the details even of what we know to have happened are meagre enough. It is certain, however, that the great bulk of the invaders of the northern part of the country were Angles—natives, that is, of the land lying between the Elbe and the Eider—and that by the year 547, Ida, their chief, had succeeded in establishing himself as King of Bernicia, a district so called from its old British name

¹ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 162.

² Green's *Making of England*, p. 71.

of Bryneich, which comprised the entire eastern half of the country between the Firth of Forth and the Tees.

Ida vaunted his descent from Woden, God of War.¹ From his base of operations on the proud rock of Bebbanburh, or Bamborough, which he had fortified,² we can picture him passing by the low ground which lies between the Cheviots and the German Ocean to push his conquests up the rich valley of the Tweed. Nennius enumerates his many sons; but these belong to the history of the country at large, and have no special place in Border story. Among them reigned Theodoric, whose title of the Flame-bearer³ suffices to indicate the ruthlessness of his devastation. Æthelfrith, Ida's grandson, added the adjoining kingdom of Deifyr, or Deira, extending southward to the estuary of the Humber, to his own possessions, which were thenceforth known as Northumberland. Æthelfrith had inherited the warlike traditions of his race; for it is to him that Bede applies the terrible words of Scripture, "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil."⁴ Against him came forth to battle Aidan, the British king of Strathclyde. He had called to his assistance the Scots, who had now established themselves to the north of his kingdom, and the united force, advancing up the valley of the Liddel, met that of Æthelfrith at Degsastane, or Dawstane, in the hill district of southern Roxburghshire. Hitherto the fortune of the war had fluctuated,⁵ but Degsastane annihilated what hopes remained to the North Britons of regaining their lost dominions. The rout was complete, Aidan's army being cut to pieces. In the opposing ranks fell Theobald,

¹ Ethelwerd's Chronicle, book i.

² Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 547.

³ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. i. p. 159, note.

⁴ Ecclesiastical History, book i. chap. 34.

⁵ Nennius, cap. 63.

Æthelfrith's brother, slain by the King of Ulster's son, and the men he had led into battle were cut off. The greatness of the slaughter may be guessed from monuments which still commemorate it. Opposite Dawstane a circle of nine stones still gives a name to the Nine-stane Rig ; whilst on the moor at Whisgill rise a huge cairn and a standing-stone. The region at this day is a wild one, but its desolation gains a new significance from these rude memorials of a battle so fiercely contested so long ago.

CHAPTER III.

CONVERSION OF NORTHUMBRIA—AIDAN—OLD MELROSE—BOISIL—CUTHBERT: HE EMBRACES THE RELIGIOUS LIFE; HIS MISSION-WORK; MIRACLES; CALLED AWAY FROM MELROSE; SUBSEQUENT LIFE AND DEATH; CHARACTER; LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS—LATER HISTORY OF THE NORTHUMBRIAN KINGDOM—THE DANES—BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH—NORTHUMBRIA AN EARLDOM—BATTLE OF CARHAM.

It is pleasant to turn from records of pillage and slaughter to the history of noble enthusiasm and the triumphs of the spirit, and such is the change which at this point awaits the student of Border story. To Æthelfrith, fallen in the midst of a career of conquest, succeeded Eadwine (617), who in turn was succeeded by his nephew Oswald (635-642), and it was in the reign of the last named that the conversion of Northumbria to Christianity was accomplished. For though it is true that Eadwine's Kentish queen had brought with her the apostle Paulinus from that Kent where St Augustine's labours were now bearing fruit, yet the efforts of Paulinus in Northumbria were on the whole a failure. And it was not from the east, but from the west—from a Scottish or Irish rather than a Roman source—that the great wave of religious enthusiasm which soon overspread the country was to rise.

Of Oswald, Bede quaintly tells us¹ that he not only learned to hope for a heavenly kingdom unknown to his progenitors, but also obtained larger earthly kingdoms than they had held.

¹ Eccles. Hist., book iii. chap. 6.

During a period of banishment in early life Oswald had visited Iona, the Holy Island of the west, hallowed by the memory of Columba, the contemporary of Kentigern, and had there been baptised into the Church;¹ and it was thither that in the day of his prosperity his thoughts now gratefully returned. Despatched in response to his invitation, Aidan, a monk of Iona, was by him installed, within sight of the royal city of Bamborough, at the tidal island of Lindisfarne, which was erected into an episcopal see, and from this source spring the religious establishments of Northumbria. Among these it is with that of Mailros that we are concerned. Among the missionaries now sent out by Aidan to convert the land was Boisil—"a priest of great virtue and of a prophetic spirit"²—who proceeded with his followers up the banks of Tweed. Perhaps it may be fanciful to credit this holy man with a love of natural beauty, but certainly the spot where he chose to rest, besides its convenience, is strikingly distinguished thereby. The river has made a sudden turn in a north-easterly direction, and after flowing on for half a mile or so, till it encounters the high precipitous red-sandstone cliffs of Gladswood, abruptly turns again and doubles back on its course. It was on the peninsula thus formed, and now known as Old Melrose, that the monastery was founded. No traces of the old buildings are now visible, though there is record of the foundations of an old wall, cutting off the peninsula from the mainland.³ Perhaps, however, our fancy of the natural beauty of the scene, inspired by its present sweet verdure and tangled hanging woods, may be untenable; for, as a great historian observes, if we would see the Lowlands as they were in Cuthbert's day, we must sweep meadow and farm away, and replace them by "vast solitudes, dotted here

¹ Eccles. Hist., book iii. chap. 3.

² Ibid., book iv. chap. 27.

³ Jeffrey, vol. i. p. 307.

and there by clusters of wooden hovels, and crossed by boggy tracks.”¹ It is round Cuthbert, of course, that the glory of the old monastic foundation centres. With Cuthbert, also, it is that the reader leaves the doubtful footing which has hitherto marked his path, to emerge upon the firm ground of authentic biography. For, notwithstanding his preoccupation with the miraculous, and the credulity of the age in which he lived, it is manifest that Bede, the saint’s biographer, who was a boy at the time of the saint’s death, was a most conscientious historian, and one who would omit no available means of testing the accuracy of the facts which he records.²

Over Cuthbert’s birth, indeed, there hangs a mist of legend and uncertainty. But, according to Border tradition, his early years were passed at Wrangholm,³ near Brotherston, and it may even be said that the earliest glimpse afforded us by history of the home-life of the Borders is in that scene—in itself so like a scene of to-day, yet in its purport so unlike—where we are shown the boy Cuthbert, at play among his companions, accidentally vexing to tears a boy much smaller than himself. There, at that unlikely moment, it was that there came to him the chance winged word for which unconsciously he waited. “Wherefore,” exclaimed the child, “dost thou, the holy Cuthbert, elder and bishop, thus contravene thy nature and high calling? It becomes not thee, whom the Lord has appointed to instruct in virtue thine elders, to be thus playing among babes!”⁴—words

¹ Green’s Short History of the English People, p. 25.

² See his preface to the treatise, ‘De Vita et Miraculis Sancti Cuthberti.’

³ Written “Wranggum” in Blaeu’s Atlas.

⁴ “Quid,” inquit, “hæc, sanctissime antistes et presbyter Cuthberte, et naturæ et gradui tuo contraria geris? Ludere te inter parvulos non decet, quem Dominus etiam majoribus natu magistrum virtutis consecravit.”—Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 1.

which the thoughtful boy surely pondered in his heart. And, to touch in passing on a less serious subject, no Borderer surely will read this passage in the original and not note with pleasure that in leaping, wrestling, running, and all other manly sports, the future saint at this age excelled his fellows.

It was an age of moral and religious exaltation—of the first freshness of a faith—when students of the Scriptures took their meaning literally, and were prepared to find like things happen to themselves. In such an age, fact, subjected to the alchemy of devout imagination, passes swiftly and easily into legend. Watching his flocks by night in the lonely places of the Border hills, whilst his fellow-shepherds slept, Cuthbert, like the shepherds of old, saw a vision. The heavens were opened to his view, and angels descending therefrom received into their midst a spirit of exceeding brightness. In that moment, as he learnt next day, the holy apostle Aidan had passed out of life. Accepting the token as a call from Heaven, he forthwith resolved to renounce the shepherd's calling and devote himself to a religious life. If Border tradition may be trusted, the place where he saw the vision was Haly (or Holy) Dean, near Bemerside ; but it is difficult to reconcile this with Bede's account of the journey made by Cuthbert immediately afterwards. As he drew near the monastery of Melrose, which he had chosen as the place of his retirement, Boisil, who was now prior, stood at the doors. He caught sight of the young man, and the spirit of prophecy descending upon him, he cried to the bystanders, "Behold the servant of the Lord !" His words proved true. He applied himself to the care and training of the novice ; and when, some years later, he died of the pestilence which was at that time periodical in the country, Cuthbert, who through life remembered him lovingly, was appointed his successor. The village of St

Boswells, neighbouring the monastery, to this day keeps alive the memory of the minor saint.

From this time forth Cuthbert devoted himself with enthusiasm to the work of an evangelist. A thirst to hear the Gospel was abroad, and of this, after the example of Boisil, he sought to avail himself to the utmost. Having grown up among the people, unlike his predecessor Aidan he had no need of an interpreter with them. As he passed from village to village, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, they crowded to hear him ; and among these Border villages it was to the poorest, and to those which, because of their mountainous situation, were the most inaccessible, that he gave his special care. As a preacher his gifts of oratory, his glory in his high vocation, endowed him with a strange power over the people, drawing them to him as it were in spite of themselves. They beheld the light of inspiration which streamed from his angel-like countenance, and of their own accord unlocked for him the secret places of their hearts. On mission-journeys such as these he would sometimes spend as much as a month at a time before returning to the monastery at Melrose.

Seeing the holy man attain this phenomenal success, it is not to be wondered at if his simple hearers soon credited him with powers miraculous. For in those days it seemed not wonderful that he who could subdue the flesh should command the elements also, and 'twas an article of faith that our dominion over the lower creatures is lost only through neglect of His laws who has made all things. Thus we soon hear of Cuthbert's being healed in sickness by a heavenly minister, and in turn of his own miraculous healing of the sick ; of his being supplied with food in a supernatural manner ; of his turning water into wine, stilling the stormy waves, casting out devils, vanquishing the Evil One, displaying marvellous powers

over the brute creation. One touching story tells us how a brother, privily watching him, when, on a visit to the monastery of Coldingham, he had chosen to spend the night in prayer on the sea-shore, beheld him, by way of penance, enter the sea until the water reached to his neck. And, as he came forth from it, there followed him two otters, which, abasing themselves before him on the sand, tenderly dried his wet feet with their fur, and breathed on them to warm them. In like manner an eagle brought him food whilst on a journey, and crows which had molested him received his rebuke with penitence and made amends. Of course much of all this belongs to the quaint naïve literature of early Christian legend. It was his power in preaching the Word of God which had caused the crowd to credit him with these attributes ; but in spite of that great popular success, his spirit continued through all to hunger after a life of solitude and austerity. To be alone with nature, and with nature's God, was the object now and ever of his desires.

After many years spent at Melrose, he had been called to act as abbot at Lindisfarne, whence—after displaying the most winning patience and humility in the performance of duties often rendered irksome by those who should have most helped him—he obtained the wish of his heart, and was permitted to withdraw into retirement. The scene of his isolation was the lonely rock-islet, far out at sea, now known as the Inner Farne, a haunt of echoes and of the seal, the porpoise, and sea-bird. But in those days it had less desirable tenants also ; for, according to Bede, it was haunted by evil spirits. At the saint's approach these fled. Here Cuthbert built himself a cell, and having scooped out a well of brackish water, gave himself up in the midst of winds and waves to a life of prayer, meditation, and austerity. He had raised the wall of his enclosure so high that over it nothing but the heaven

was to be seen. Thither, when the saint had shown great reluctance to accept a call to the episcopal see of Lindisfarne, came Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, with his nobles and councillors, and knelt to him in entreaty. Fain would Cuthbert have lingered in his hermitage; but the king's tears moved him, and with tears on his own part too he consented to appear before the Synod, where, yielding to the wishes of all present, he submitted to take upon him the episcopal dignity. He was consecrated at York in the presence of Ecgfrith, of Theodore the primate, and six other bishops, and thus was fulfilled a prophecy of his old superior, Boisil. As a bishop he revisited Melrose at the invitation of the venerable Eata, who had been abbot there when he entered the monastery. In his bishopric, as elsewhere, Cuthbert supplied a shining example of virtue and of grace, and after holding it for two years, having received warning from above of the approach of death, he resigned, and withdrew once more to the Farne Islands, there to make an end that was in harmony with his life.

Thus passed away the earliest, and, assuredly, one of the greatest of Border worthies—a man distinguished alike for the sweet loveliness of his character and the depth of his emotional nature. Witness the records of his daily life, of his lifelong affection for Boisil, or for the hermit Herbert, the presiding saint of Derwentwater Lake; witness his tears to Ecgfrith, or those, “drawn from the bottom of his heart,” with which he would offer up to God the sacrifice of the mass. But through life, in one form or the other, it was the passion for holiness that chiefly distinguished him. Whether in solitude or in the service of his fellow-men, he gave himself wholly and without reserve to God. In Roxburghshire the churches of Ednam and Maxton commemorate his name, which has also been associated by tradition with a fish-pond and a

"holy" well at Old Melrose, and with the petrifying well at Maxton.

If a measure of the troublous times now in store for Northumbria were required, it might be found in an itinerary of the dead saint's bones. For, though we are accustomed to regard as hyperbolical the phrase which speaks of the dead not being allowed to rest in their graves, in his case it might be applied literally. Upon his death in 687 his remains had been interred at Lindisfarne; but having been exhumed, and proved of virtue in wonder-working, it became the task of the faithful, when danger beset the land, to protect them from desecration. And so we read that for seven long years the coffin which contained the precious relics was transported from place to place, throughout the north of England and south of Scotland, upon the shoulders of pious bearers. This, however, was not as yet.

Already, ere Cuthbert's death, Ecgfrith, decoyed by a stratagem of the Picts into the fastnesses of their mountains,¹ had perished with his army in battle upon the field of Dunnichen. His death was the precursor of the fall of Northumbria. That state had in its time attained to the supremacy in England, had produced or found a field for the labours of such rulers as the Bretwaldas Eadwine, St Oswald, Oswy—such ecclesiastics as Cuthbert, Benedict Biscop, Theodore of Tarsus, and Bede; and through these, shining as a centre of religious fervour and intellectual light, it had amply performed its share in forwarding the work of civilisation, and so justified its existence. But its glory was now to pass away. The details of the succeeding period supplied by contemporary historians are extremely meagre, yet, in spite of this, it is easy to see that from henceforth Northumbria played not merely a small but a contemptible

¹ Fordun, book iii. chap. 43.

part in history. To Ecgrith had succeeded his illegitimate brother Ealfrith. The three kings, Osred, Kenred, and Osric, who in turn followed the latter, are to us no more than names. Ceolwulf, Kenred's brother, succeeded Osric, and of his reign, Bede, who was completing his history at the time, relates that it was "so filled with commotions that it cannot yet be known what end these will have."¹ For the present the troubles were internal, for, beyond the kingdom, there was peace with Picts and Scots, whilst the Britons had to some extent been brought into subjection. Yet, such as they were, these troubles sufficed to drive Ceolwulf to the refuge of a cloister; for in 737 we find him seeking "Peter's tonsure for the love of God," and handing on the kingdom to his cousin Eadbert. Eadbert was a warrior, under whom the glory of Northumbria was for a time revived, for not only did he beat back the inroads of his neighbours the Mercians, but also overran the British kingdom of Strathclyde, and captured its capital of Alclud or Dumbarton. But, though successful against external enemies, he was powerless against those at home, and accordingly, twenty years later,² we find him reduced to following the example of his predecessor. From henceforth kingship in Northumbria became more and more impossible. In the year following, Oswulph, Eadbert's son and successor, and the last direct descendant of Ida, was treacherously slain by his own servants; then Ethelwald abdicated; then Alcred was deposed. Without pursuing the record further, the fates of these kings may be allowed to stand as typical of those of their successors. Meantime the kingdom became plunged in misery. Ethelwald's reign had witnessed a pestilence of nearly two years' duration, and, about the time which we have now reached, the chronicler records portents—lightnings and whirlwinds, the

¹ Eccles. Hist., book v. chap. 23.

² English Chronicle.

moon eclipsed, and dragons seen flying in the air—as if to justify which, a famine followed. But the worst was not yet.

Under the date 787 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that three strange vessels appeared upon our coast, and that the reeve, or headman, of the locality, hastening to interrogate their crews, was by them slain. This characteristic entry is the earliest intimation we have of those piratical descents and invasions which, for so many years to come, were to make England taste to the dregs of the cup of misery and humiliation. The pressure of a firmer government at home was at this time driving the more turbulent spirits from the Scandinavian kingdoms to find a field for their energies elsewhere, and the Danes, as they were collectively called—heathens, without pity, and lacking equally in the virtues of the nobler barbarian, fidelity and truth—had fallen on England as their prey. As we disentangle the confused records of the Chronicle, we again and again catch glimpses of them, stealing in their boats up the creeks and rivers upon their murderous errands. A single incident may suffice to paint the ferocity of hatred with which they had inspired their victims in Northumbria. After sacking the monastery of Wearmouth, they had betaken themselves to their ships, and were making off, when a tempest drove them back. Many of their ships were thus wrecked, and many of themselves drowned, but those who succeeded in escaping from the waves were put to death upon the beach. But the Danes were not long in effecting a more permanent settlement in the country; and then it is that we begin to read of the astonishing forced marches of their army—how they would cross the country, mounted upon horses which at a pinch they slaughtered for food, and, with their terror-striking banner called the Raven floating above, sit down

before some ill-defended town. And for two hundred years to come we read of little else.

Times such as these are not favourable to the historian, and the consequence is that sheer dearth of information forbids us to do more than trace in briefest outline the history of Northumbria during these centuries of struggle. The brunt of the battle had been borne by the remote West Saxons, and, unlike Wessex, Northumbria can boast of no ideal hero moulded in the furnace of the contest. On the contrary, torn by internal dissensions, she seems to have been among the first and easiest of the Danish conquests. In 798—four years, that is, after the fight at Wearmouth—we read again of a “great fight” in Northumbria. Then in 867—during the second and greater Danish invasion—we are told that the army of the heathen visited York, and that there was fighting and great slaughter of Northumbrians; but when in 869 and 873 the visit was repeated, we no longer hear of resistance. In 875 the army wintered there, and extended its ravages to the territory of the Britons of Strathclyde. For by this time the Danish leader Halfdan, a son of Ragnar Lodbrog, the “man without a tear,” had brought the whole country under his dominion, apportioning it among his followers—who thenceforward continued to cultivate it—and even setting up a king of his own choosing over the part of it north of the Tyne. Peace, however, was not yet Northumbria’s portion; for, besides these ravages from the south and east, that unhappy country was at this time being constantly overrun from the north,¹ where, some years earlier, the kingdoms of the Picts and Scots had been united under Kenneth MacAlpin. Thus, if we include the Britons of Strathclyde on the west, we may see that—whatever might be its fortune in later years—the country which we may define as the

¹ Skene’s *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 346.

dales of Teviot and Tweed was now the battlefield of four distinct nationalities, and that, amid the varying chances of war, it would not be easy, were it possible, to trace the different transitory influences brought to bear upon it.

At last, in 924, this state of matters seemed like to be terminated, for in that year the inhabitants of Northumbria—Danes as well as English—as also the Strathclyde Britons, and the Scots, under Constantine II., chose the English king, Edward the Elder, to be their overlord—in other words, they acknowledged his superiority, and placed themselves under his protection. But the prospects of concord which this arrangement seemed to hold out were too favourable to be realised. Two years later Edward's successor, Athelstane, found it necessary to expel an unauthorised, though from his own point of view legitimate, Danish ruler from Northumbria. The King of Scots espoused the cause of the pretender, and this led to an invasion of Scotland. At length, in 937, Athelstane found a formidable coalition of Danes, Scots, Irish, and Britons associated together for the recovery of Northumbria. As they marched southward he met them on the unidentified field of Brumby, or Brunanburh. As it recounts the great battle which followed, to the reader's surprise the crabbed and matter-of-fact Chronicle breaks forth into a strain of exultant song—telling of the lifelong glory won that day by the English king, and how from sunrise to sunset his army slew the enemy and pursued the fugitives. "Five lay on the battle-stead, youthful kings by swords in slumber laid." Among these was the son of Constantine, who himself escaped to Scotland to end his days in monastic retirement. Athelstane's victory was complete—"carnage greater has not been in this island ever yet since from the east hither Angles and Saxons came to land."

It may seem that with the battle of Brunanburh the whole

of Eadwine's Northumbria ought to have passed to the English crown, and that so, at last, a settled government might have been secured to the northern kingdom. But apparently Athelstane was not strong enough to turn his victory to the best account. At any rate, Northumbrian history still continued to be characterised by the same factiousness and lawlessness which had distinguished it ever since the days of Oswy's successors, and which, we may add,—as if inbred in the people,—were to distinguish it for many a day to come. Ridpath¹ enters into particulars of the successive changes of rule which ensued during the next few years; but these are really of very subordinate interest in our subject, and to note them in the brief manner which is here alone possible would probably have the effect, by overloading it with detail, of obscuring rather than of illuminating the main thread of our narrative. So we may content ourselves with summarising matters by stating that, after both forcible and friendly measures had been resorted to without producing improvement, in 954 the English King Edred, having expelled the last King of Northumbria, Eric by name, turned that kingdom into an earldom, to be governed by an earl under himself.

In the next reign, that of Edwy, Dunstan, the great abbot of Glastonbury, set up a rival to the king, whereupon Northumbria (as was to be expected from its previous history) became art and part in the rebellion. But Edwy's death, and the accession in 958 of his brother Edgar, Dunstan's nominee, brought the country again under one ruler. Among the acts of this powerful monarch was the division of the great earldom of Northumbria into two,—the northern division—which was conferred on Eadulf, surnamed Ewelthild or Yvelchild—extending from the Forth to the Tees, the southern from the Tees to the Humber. Besides this, it has been stated that

¹ Border History of England and Scotland, p. 47 *et seq.*

Edgar, being visited by Kenneth III., King of Scots, in response to the representations of that sovereign made over to him amicably the province of Lothian,¹ comprising that portion of the more northerly of the two earldoms which lay north of the Tweed. This statement,² in itself somewhat surprising, is, however, open to doubt, though the character of the inhabitants of the province, its remoteness, and the consequent difficulty of protecting it and of maintaining order within its bounds, together with a vague claim of hereditary right advanced by Kenneth, may be held to combine to give it plausibility. It also gains support from the fact which, though not mentioned till now, is of great importance in our history, that some thirty years earlier—namely, in 945—the British kingdom of Strathclyde, having been conquered by the English king Eadmund, had by him been granted to Malcolm I. of Scotland as a territorial fief, to be held under himself in return for military service by land and sea. To revert to the story of the cession of Lothian, it may be mentioned that Mr Skene³ dismisses it “as having no foundation in fact,” attributing its origin to partisanship in the later controversy as to the dependence of Scotland. At any rate, if Lothian were really given up by Edgar at this time, subsequent history shows it to have been afterwards resumed. The history of the next thirty or forty years in England is almost solely occupied with the third great invasion by the Danes, and with shameful records of helplessness and demoralisation on the part of the people, and of cowardice and

¹ Lothian, or *Laodonea*, is said by Blaeu (*Geographia*, vol. vi. p. 31) to be the name given to the country lying between Tweed and Forth, formerly occupied by the *Gadeni*, who, in some copies of Ptolemy's map, are called *Ladeni*.

² First made by Symeon of Durham in his *Tract* on the arrival of the Saxons, and repeated by John Wallingford, *Chron.*, p. 545.

³ *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 372.

treachery on the part of their leaders under Ethelred the Unready. Among the first to submit to the Danish leader, Swegen, were the Northumbrians—a fact which, however, need not be viewed in too unfavourable a light, as it may have been due to the large Danish admixture among the population, although, against this, it must be acknowledged that later on, with their accustomed fickleness, they espoused the cause of Edmund Ironside, and had to be forced into submission by Canute.

Malcolm II., who by this time had ascended the Scottish throne, had not been slow to note in the prostration of the neighbouring kingdom an opportunity for seizing Lothian—which, if it had ever been joined to Scotland, had by this time become separate from it again. His first attempt to do this was repulsed by Uchtred, a son of Waltheof, the aged Earl of Northumbria, who had succeeded Eadulf. Some years later, however—in 1018—Malcolm renewed his attempt, and, being supported by Eugenius the Bald, king of the Strathclyde Britons, marched southward at the head of an army, and gained a brilliant victory at Carham, on the south bank of the Tweed, over Eadulf Cudel, the degenerate brother of his former adversary Uchtred, who was now dead. In this battle, which, according to Symeon of Durham, had been heralded in Northumbria by the ominous appearance of a comet in the sky, nearly the whole of the population between Tees and Tweed are said to have been cut off by the Scots; and by it Malcolm at last secured possession of the coveted province, which was never afterwards retaken. And thus the capture of Lothian and Tevethdale, following upon the annexation of Strathclyde, brought the whole of the territory now comprised in the Border counties, which till these events had formed parts of a British and an English kingdom, at last into the condition of dependencies of the Scottish crown!

With the battle of Carham closes what we may call the introductory period of Border history. During this period there has been revealed to us, by the light as of a "false dawn," the earliest authentic event in that history—the entrance into the dales of Tweed and Teviot of Agricola with his army, intent on spreading northward the conquests of the Roman arms. We see him overrun that country, and endeavour to secure it—but with incomplete success. And thus, for more than three centuries to come, the tide of Roman conquest fluctuates across it—now advancing, now swept back. At the end of that period the direct influence of Rome is permanently withdrawn; yet the wear and tear of wellnigh fifteen centuries have not sufficed to efface the traces of that mighty race of conquerors and civilisers which, at such places as Cappuck and Newstead, as "Watling Street" and Lyne, confront us to this day. With the withdrawal of the Roman forces darkness sets in deeper than before—a darkness peopled and haunted only by such dreams and unsubstantiated phantasms as the mythic, or more than half-mythic, Arthur and Merlin—characters to us scarcely more actual than those of the ancient North-country romance of "King Horn." Of this period the wreckage in our country may be seen in such monuments as the Catrail, the prehistoric town of Eildon, the broch of Torwoodlee, and a hundred other strong places on our hills or by our watersides. And through these that period speaks to us, but speaks with an uncertain voice—delivering messages of oracular dubiety, from which we extract nothing clearly save a record of the struggle of native races against a Saxon or English invader. To pursue our metaphor, late in the seventh century the Venerable Bede, from his monastic cell at Jarrow, throws a light backward over scenes and figures of great spiritual beauty and elevation; for the epoch of the North-

umbrian Bretwaldas, of the foundation of Old Melrose, of the lives and mission-work of Boisil and Cuthbert, is one to which any country may well look back with fondness and pride. Alas! that it should be but an oasis in a desert. For during the epoch that follows, it is not alone the ruthlessness of the Danes that we have to deplore; it is lawlessness, perfidy, fickleness, and subserviency at home, the dying down and almost the extinction of the flame kindled by the saints of "Heaven's Field" and Lindisfarne—three centuries with scarce a gleam of moral or intellectual light, the veritable Dark Ages of a land. And yet even now—to push our figure still further—though the day breaks slowly, the dawn has begun, and better times are at hand. In these we shall see those untamed forces, which till now have worked chaotically upon themselves, gradually subjected to discipline and reason, until in the sequel there is formed from them one of the strongest and most serviceable of existing varieties of local or national character. For, in the restless spirit which for so long plunged Northumbria in anarchy, we may recognise the raw material of the sturdy independence and industrial enterprise of the Borderer of a later day. For us the fact of importance resulting from this long, dark, and troubled period is the predominance of the Teutonic element in the population of the Border counties. And we may, likewise, specially note that that tract of country has through successive changes approached its ultimate shape and condition, until with the battle of Carham we at last see it consolidated as a southern portion of the kingdom of Scotland.

CHAPTER IV.

DISTURBED CONDITION OF THE BORDER CONTINUED—AMALGAMATION OF NATIONALITIES—INFLUENCE OF ST MARGARET—GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE BORDER—EARLY NOTICES OF BORDER LOCALITIES—FOUNDATION AND RISE OF THE BORDER ABBEYS—KELSO: EARLY ABBOTS, ARCHITECTURE, ARTS AND INDUSTRIES, POSSESSIONS AND REVENUES, PRIVATE BENEFACTIONS, CULTIVATION AND TENANCY OF LAND—MELROSE ABBEY: OLD MELROSE, 'CHRONICA DE MAILROS,' ARCHITECTURE OF ABBEY, JOHN MOROW—JEDBURGH: EARLY FOUNDATION, GRANTS TO THE ABBEY, DAILY LIFE THERE, ARCHITECTURE—EARLY BORDER CHURCHES—INFLUENCE OF THE MONKS—DAWN OF THOUGHT AND POETRY IN THE BORDERS; DRITHELM; MICHAEL SCOT, ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF A BORDER ORIGIN, EARLY STUDIES AND SUBSEQUENT CAREER, TRUE CHARACTER, LEGENDS; THOMAS THE RHYMER, LOCALITIES ASSOCIATED WITH HIS NAME, PROPHECIES ATTRIBUTED TO HIM, THEIR LOCAL ALLUSIONS; LORD SOULIS; HABBY KER.

WITH Malcolm II., the victor of Carham, and the grandfather of Duncan, who succeeded him on the throne, and was murdered by Macbeth, we come at last to historical characters whose names are tolerably familiar. For a number of years to come, however, the history of the Border counties is still almost a blank; although notices such as, for instance, those which tell of Malcolm's vengeance for depredations committed by Othred, Earl of Northumbria, upon Cumberland,¹ or of Canute's marching northward at the head of an army to exact that fealty for Cumberland which Malcolm, who regarded him as a usurper, had refused to pay, and which happily was exacted without recourse to

¹ Fordun, book iv. chap. 39.

bloodshed¹—such notices as these suffice to show us that the country was not allowed to forget the use of arms. And it may here be explained that Cumbria, or the southern portion of the British kingdom of Strathclyde, had been granted in the middle of the preceding century by Athelstane's successor, Edmund, who had conquered it, as a fief to Malcolm I.

About 1054 the redoubtable Siward, Earl of Northumbria, acting in collusion with Macduff, Thane of Fife, marched northward at the head of an expedition having for object to displace Macbeth and set Malcolm, the son of the murdered Duncan, on the throne—which objects were eventually accomplished, though not until after Siward's death.² The reign of Malcolm, surnamed Canmore, is remarkable for the success with which, partly in arms, partly by timely submission, that king held his own against England, even the England of William the Conqueror. He had known exile himself, so fellow-feeling may possibly have played a part among the motives which led him to espouse the cause of Eadgar Ætheling, the disinherited heir to the English crown, who found an asylum in his Court, and whose sister he married. Partly in his brother-in-law's interest, Malcolm invaded Northumberland no less than five times—his conduct in this respect serving to keep up the tradition of disturbance in that part of England, or, as may perhaps be said, inaugurating that practice of raiding which was to become so prominent in later years. And, indeed, if we may trust the not unprejudiced narrative of Symeon, there was a time

¹ Fordun, book iv. chap. 41.

² Skene suggests that Cumbria and Lothian had "probably remained faithful to the children of Duncan" (*Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 405). At any rate, Malcolm was speedily invested with the sovereignty of that part of his dominions, whilst three years had to elapse before he gained possession of the throne of Scotland (*ibid.*, p. 410).

during this reign when Scotland was so well supplied with English slaves that not only no village, but even no cottage, lacked them.¹ On the other side, both Robert of Normandy and William Rufus made expeditions into Lothian; but beyond such warlike matters as these, which are briefly noted, few events of this reign in which the Borders are concerned are known. It is evident, however, that Lothian, as it was the richest, now became also the most important, part of the king's possessions. And it is also noteworthy that—since Cumbria had been wrested from him by Rufus—at the time of his death, which occurred in 1093, this king left the southern border of Scotland—marked off by the river Tweed, the range of the Cheviots, and the Solway Firth—practically what it has been ever since.

It was Malcolm Canmore's good fortune that he might be held to unite in his own person claims to the allegiance of every party in the state; for he was not only grandson of Malcolm I. of Scotland, and son of Duncan (who had long been recognised as ruler of Strathclyde), but likewise kinsman of Siward of Northumbria, as well as, by his first marriage, widower of Ingibjorg—widow of the Norwegian Earl of Orkney—and lastly, husband of Margaret, sister of the Ætheling. In these circumstances it is quite probable that, as Mr Skene points out, under Malcolm's rule great progress was made in the amalgamation of the different provinces, with their heterogeneous populations, which served to make up his kingdom. And yet it is rather as a preparation for what was to come after it than on its own account that to us this reign is of importance. Probably there is no one woman to whom Scotland owes more than to Malcolm's queen, and we must count ourselves fortunate in possessing a well-written life of her. Her biographer has told us how,

¹ Symeonis Dunelmensis Historiæ Continuatio, Ann. 1070.

whilst still in the flower of youth, "she began to lead a very strict life, to love God above all things, to employ herself in the study of the divine writings, and therein with joy to exercise her mind."¹ And as she grew in years, so did she grow in grace. Of the tenderness and delicacy of her charity there may be cited, as a single instance, her treatment of the English slaves already mentioned, whose ransom, when their bondage appeared to her heavier than they could bear, she was in the habit of paying secretly, in order that they might be set at liberty. Her charity was equalled alike by the fervour and constancy of her devotion, and by the rigour of her asceticism. Nature had endowed her with such gifts and graces of mind and person as best enabled her to recommend to others what seemed good and beautiful to herself; and certainly there are few pictures of domestic life more touching than that which Turgot has drawn from life of her influence over her savage and unlettered lord.² But it is as a mother rather than as a wife that she has a special interest for ourselves. Turgot tells us that she devoted the utmost care to training her children in virtue, with her own lips instructing them "about Christ and the things of Christ"; and it is probably not too much to say that the influence of this training was felt in Scotland—through the seven kings who sprang from her—for a space of two hundred years, or that some of its results, as it affected one of her sons, are among the most conspicuous features of the Border

¹ Life of St Margaret, by Turgot, Bishop of St Andrews, translated by Rev. W. Forbes Leith, p. 27.

² "Although he could not read, he would turn over and examine books which she used either for her devotions or her study; and whenever he heard her express especial liking for a particular book, he also would look at it with special interest, kissing it, and often taking it into his hands."—Ibid., p. 39.

country to this day. Nor was her immediate influence restricted to domestic matters only, a share in the government of the country being intrusted by her warlike husband to her hands.¹ Many immigrants had followed her to Scotland, and by their instrumentality she found a further field for her exertions in fostering enlightenment and the civilising arts.

The reigns of Margaret's sons, Edgar, and Alexander, surnamed the Fierce, were, as regards the Borders, uneventful, except that Strathclyde was then for a time in a manner separated from the rest of Scotland, having been bequeathed by Edgar to his brother David, out of gratitude for wise advice. But on the accession of the latter, in 1124, it again came directly under the Scottish crown. And it is with the accession of David I. that the Border counties, as we may now call them, first begin to emerge into distinct existence—and, indeed, not only into distinct existence but into prominence, as the centre of Scottish life and government. Heretofore, in such incidental notices as have come down to us, they have been undistinguished from the surrounding country; but during this and the following century we begin to hear of Sheriffs of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles.² At the same time we first hear of

¹ Lord Hailes's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 41.

² Jeffrey (vol. ii. p. 6) refers to writs addressed by David to the Sheriff of Rokesburgh as being preserved, among the Charters of Coldingham, in the Treasury of Durham. He also tells us that the first sheriffs of Roxburgh that can be traced with certainty are Gospatrick, owner of Nether Crailing, and John, the son of Orm, who is supposed to have given its name to Ormiston on the Teviot. They flourished in this reign. The first known Sheriff of Selkirk, Andrew de Synton, was appointed by William the Lion (1165-1214) (Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 64); whilst, in this latter reign, Justiciary Courts were held at Peebles, and before the end of the century Tweeddale had two sheriffs—one at Peebles and one at Traquair (Chambers, p. 49). It must, however, be remembered that Scotland was not divided like England into shires, having shire-reeves, and that these sheriffs were officers placed by the king over certain districts.

the Border towns. The name of Jedburgh had, indeed, appeared in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as far back as the year 952; but from David's accession onward Rokesburgh, or Roxburgh, is very frequently mentioned in history. The town took its name from the castle, and it seems probable that the unique strategical position of the latter—on an eminence between two rivers—would lead to its being utilised for a stronghold from the earliest times. Camden says that its ancient name was Marchidun—the Castle on the Marches—which is not quite accurately descriptive. Roxburgh is Rawic's burgh.¹ Jeffrey infers that the town of Roxburgh, which was in close proximity to the castle,² was defended by a wall and ditch.³ The importance to which it had already risen is shown by the fact that, in the year following David's accession, it was chosen as the scene of a great ecclesiastical council, to which the bishops of the land were convened, and at which the Pope was represented by his legate, the Cardinal Johannes Cremensis. The object of the council was discussion of the relations of the Scottish Church with the see of York, or Canterbury—a question which had been brought into very prominent notice by the case of Eadmer, bishop-designate of St Andrews, in the previous reign. In this matter the Pope, Honorius II., had reserved to himself the right of final judgment. But the council came to no determination.

Doubtless from Roxburgh, also, went forth those repeated and redoubted expeditions which were organised by David, after the death of Henry I. of England, for the assistance of the Scots king's niece, the Empress Maud. In 1136 an appeal of Thorstein, Archbishop of York, who went to Roxburgh for the purpose, served to delay one of these expeditions during

¹ Sir H. Maxwell's *Scottish Land-Names*, p. 14.

² Jeffrey, vol. ii. p. 59.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Stephen's absence in Normandy. And when, two years later, David retired before the usurper, it was to occupy "certain solitudes" in the neighbourhood of the same place. It is further asserted that had Stephen entered Roxburgh, as was expected, he would have been betrayed or surprised.¹ He may have got wind of the plot, however, for he crossed the Tweed at another place — thence proceeding to lay waste the Scottish Border until compelled by famine to withdraw. Sieges by David of the Border fortresses of Wark and Norham were important incidents of the warfare of these two years, and it is with regret that one is compelled to record that upon that warfare the stain of singular barbarity remains. David had married Matilda, daughter and heiress of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and it seems that, in the troubles of the neighbouring kingdom, he saw an opportunity for pressing the claim of his son, Prince Henry, to that fief. It also appears that Stephen was not unwilling to purchase the neutrality of the Scottish king by concession in that direction; for at the Peace of Durham, which followed the Battle of the Standard,² he invested Henry with the whole of Northumberland, excepting only Newcastle and Bamborough, and from that time until David's death its affairs were administered from Scotland.

¹ *Historia Ricardi Prioris Hagustaldensis*, in 'Scriptores Decem,' p. 318. Roxburgh Castle was also the prison of MacHeth, the chief of the Moray men, who had revolted in the beginning of this reign, as it perhaps was of the fantastic monkish impostor Wymond, after his downfall and double mutilation. Robertson, however, states that Wymond spent his later days at the monastery of Biland (Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 221).

² At this battle the men of Teviotdale are mentioned as composing, with those of Cumberland, the second of the three bodies into which David divided his army. It was under the leadership of Prince Henry. (Ethelredus, "De Bello Standardii," in 'Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem,' p. 342.)

Meantime, whilst Roxburgh had been assuming this position of importance in the country, the town of Peebles had not altogether lagged behind; for we are told by Chambers¹ that, "besides confirming previous grants, David endowed it with gifts of land and privileges adequate to its support." The region of Selkirk, less favourably situated, was probably less advanced. It appears to have been Crown property—"the pasture-land of royal flocks and herds"—and to have formed part of a forest, of vast extent in a westward direction, wherein the king might indulge his fondness for the chase. Up to this time its only approach to towns were the collection of shiels, or shielings, by the Gala—"Galaschul," and a village inhabited by the king's foresters and shepherds, beside which a church had been founded by the sect called the Culdees. The latter came to be known as Scheleschirche, or the Kirk of the Shiels.²

It is, of course, for advancement in the arts of peace far more than for warfare that the reign of David I. remains among the most memorable in the Borders. Indeed it is impossible to examine the documents of the time, with their careful provisions for marking off boundaries, for protecting sporting privileges, and the like, without experiencing a sensation of wonder at the surprising progress which they denote. It may be that, had more of the documents of Malcolm Canmore's reign been preserved, this transition would have seemed less abrupt. Still it is undoubted that the personal influence of the king, educated as he had been amid the refinement of the English court, together with that of his Norman baronage, and of the clergy who enjoyed such favour at his hands, must count for much.

¹ Page 49.

² Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 58.

David's biography by his friend, Ailred of Rievaulx,¹ is written too much after the manner of a monkish excursus or exhortation, and dwells mainly on the king's great devotional fervour and stringent self-discipline. But among the few secular traits which it preserves are his unremitted labour, his ready attention to the wants of the humblest among his subjects, and his encouragement, among an uncultivated people, of the arts of gardening and building. It is with the last that we are now to be concerned.

On this subject it has been remarked that, "as if foreseeing that his favourite valley was to become, in later times, the field of arms for two nations," David restored ancient monasteries and founded new ones thickly over Teviotdale; and that these were ultimately destined not only to spread the blessings of religion, and, in part, to tame the rough Borderer, but to afford him sometimes an asylum and support when war had wasted all that was not under the protection of the Church.² Already in 1113, as Prince of Strathclyde, David had brought over from the Abbey of Tiron, in Picardy, a colony of thirteen monks of the reformed Benedictine order, whom he had established beside the Kirk of the Shiels. These he had endowed with large estates both in Scotland and in his English earldom of Huntingdon; but the foreigners, who may have been discontented in exile, found the situation unsuitable for an abbey. In consequence of this, and acting by the advice of his trusted counsellor John, Bishop of Glasgow, in 1126 David, now King of Scotland, removed the monastery to the Church of the Blessed Virgin on the banks of Tweed at "Calkou," and there considerably augmented its revenues. At Kelso two years seem to have been devoted by the

¹ *Eulogium Davidis, Regis Scotorum.*

² *Registrum Cartarum de Kelso* (Bannatyne Club), vol. i., Preface, p. iv.

monks to necessary preparation and to building houses for themselves, but on the 3rd May 1128¹ the conventual church of the new abbey was founded. The abbey was dedicated to the Virgin and St John the Evangelist, and its first abbot was Herbert, who also held the office of chancellor of the kingdom.²

The abbey thus founded rose rapidly in riches and importance, and, in time, claimed precedence of all the monasteries of Scotland—a point which was disputed alone by the Priory of St Andrews. The abbots were from the beginning men of first importance in the kingdom, who resigned their abbacy only to accept the highest preferment. Thus, on the death of Bishop John mentioned above, we find Abbot Herbert called to the bishopric of Glasgow; whilst Ernald, his successor in the abbacy of Kelso, is in due course transferred to the see of St Andrews. In his capacity as Royal Chaplain this Ernald was much at Court, and played an important part in public affairs of the time, as did also his successor, John. In the meantime the interests of the abbey were kept steadily in view, and no opportunity of adding to its powers and privileges was overlooked.

At the time of the foundation the Bishop of St Andrews, in whose diocese Kelso was situated, had granted to the abbot and convent a perpetual exemption from all episcopal dues and restrictions, and no long period was to elapse ere they began to enjoy in a high degree the countenance of Rome itself. Thus Abbot Ernald became legate of the Roman see for Scotland, whilst John obtained from the Pope, Alexander III., by personal solicitation, the signal distinction of permission to assume the mitre—a mark of favour which was

¹ *Chronica de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club), p. 69.

² Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 78.

extended to his successors also.¹ This abbot—who had been raised from the position of cantor of the abbey—would appear to have been a man of peculiarly ambitious temper ; for we also find him engaged in a dispute, opposed to all custom, with the parent Abbey of Tiron, for “ priority and subjection.” It was during his supremacy that a colony of monks went out from Kelso to establish the Abbey of Aberbrothoc. The favour of Pope Alexander III. to Kelso was followed up by his successors, Lucius and Innocent III., who granted the abbey special immunities in respect to excommunication—the latter enacting that, though the whole kingdom were under interdict, the monks of Kelso should still be privileged to celebrate the services of religion in their church—the offices being conducted in a low voice, with closed doors, and without the use of bells. And this is but a single mark of what seems to have been the special favour of Innocent to Kelso Abbey, for we also find him taking it under his special protection,² and granting it exemption from all episcopal jurisdiction save that of the Holy See itself. In 1215 Abbot Henry of Kelso was present at Rome at a council held for the purpose of concerting measures against the Waldenses and Albigenses ; whilst, some thirty years later, a further mark of papal favour was bestowed upon the abbey in the form of special powers for excommunicating by name ill-doers and enemies to that church. The rite in this instance was to be performed upon a Sunday or holiday, with lighted candles and ringing of bells.

In the meantime—whilst the Monastery of Kelso was gradually assuming, under a succession of able and ambitious abbots,

¹ The occasions specified for wearing it are the celebration of mass, processions in the cloister, and when attending the Pope’s councils (*Liber de Calchou*, Bannatyne Club, p. 360).

² Morton, p. 85.

a position of more and more independence and power in the world—the building of the abbey church was being constantly carried on. It is supposed to have occupied about a hundred years, and the remains—ruinous as they now are—may be held to illustrate the variation of architectural style in Scotland during that period. The first thing which strikes the spectator on beholding them is that the chancel is of much greater length than the nave, a remarkable exception to the general rule, of which no satisfactory explanation has been given—though that it was a part of the original plan of the building is obvious,¹ as well from the fact that the measurements of nave and transepts correspond, as from the style of the western doorway showing it to have been among the earlier parts of the building. The construction seems to have commenced with the chancel, of which but a fragment remains, the aisles having entirely disappeared. Two main piers, however, which with their arches are still left standing, together with two storeys of arcades above them, serve to illustrate the change of architectural style; as does also the west front, where the historical intersecting arches may be seen. The chancel arcades just mentioned represent the triforium and clerestory, and their arches being continuous (without interspaces of wall), present an effect which is both striking and unusual.

The character of the crossing is transitional, as is indicated by the pointed arch—probably introduced in this position to give strength to sustain the tower²—and by the bases and caps of the piers. The mouldered and broken doorway of the west front—with its deep-splayed circular arch, and characteristic mouldings, nail-heads, zigzags, and other enrich-

¹ Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland, by MacGibbon and Ross, vol. i. p. 355.

² Ibid.

ments—is a remarkable specimen of the late Norman period. In other respects the style of the west front is transitional—the whole façade being treated as a single design, and contrasting in this respect with the façade of the north transept, in which the treatment is by storeys. Again, the doorpiece in the north wall of the north transept is a fine example of transitional workmanship. The lower storey of the tower belongs to the same period as the choir; whilst the upper portion, with its quatrefoils and deeply-recessed pointed windows, has been rebuilt at a later date. Thus the architectural styles in vogue in Scotland during the latter part of the twelfth, and the earlier part of the thirteenth, century are well exemplified.

During all this time, and probably for long after it, many other forms of industry besides that of building must have been practised in the abbey. A part of the reforms recently introduced by St Bernard the Less among his Benedictines had been the cultivation of arts and crafts, as a safeguard against idleness. Thus among the monks of Tiron there were painters and carvers, besides husbandmen and carpenters. And to these the writer of the preface to the *Registrum* adds sculptors in stone and marble, tilemakers, lead and iron workers, and painters upon glass. From a charter of the thirteenth century¹ we also know that the monks kept a school, which was resorted to by rich and poor from the neighbourhood. Another art practised in the abbey was caligraphy, and of this specimens have survived. Besides the charters of the abbey, which have been preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh for at least two hundred years (the earlier charters apparently in

¹ *Registrum Cartarum*, fol. 71. By which the widow of the laird of Molle makes a grant to the abbey on the condition that her son be boarded there “*cum melioribus et dignioribus scholaribus.*”

copies made early in the fourteenth century), it is supposed that a copy of Wyntoun's Chronicle was written at Kelso. But the most artistically interesting relic of this kind of work as there practised is the great charter of Malcolm IV., preserved among the archives of the Dukes of Roxburghe at Floors. In this document each of the arches of the initial letter **¶** contains a highly finished illuminated portrait of a male figure, throned and crowned, and wearing royal robes. These figures are believed to represent the founder of the abbey and his grandson Malcolm, and the beardless face and curled hair of the latter may probably throw light on his nickname of The Maiden. Literature itself was not neglected amid the cloistered quiet and peaceful surroundings of the abbey. Herbert and Ernald, abbots, are known to have been authors, respectively, of a historical monograph and of a 'Treatise on Right Government'; whilst Walter, who was prior about the year 1160, wrote tracts and letters—one of which dealt with the vexed question of the freedom of the Scottish Church. But—undeniable as were their enlightenment and their usefulness—it was probably less for these than for their works of charity and hospitality that the monks of Kelso were celebrated. Of the latter there is early and incontestable evidence; whilst the study of their charters further reveals them in the light of wise and liberal administrators of the wide estates which they came to own. And when at length, after nearly two hundred years of prosperity, these good men fell on evil days, there were the best of reasons for the lamentations of the Border-land.

The first lands bestowed in the form of endowment upon the Tironensian colonists were naturally at Selkirk, and are none too clearly defined as follows: "The land of Selkirk, from where a rivulet descending from the hills runs into Yarrow, as far as to that rivulet which, coming down from

Crossinemere, flows into Tweed; and beyond the said rivulet which falls into Yarrow a certain particle of land between the road which leads from the castle to the abbey and Yarrow—that is, towards the old town.”¹ With these were associated the towns of Middelham (Midlem), Bothendenam (Bowden), and Aldona (Holydene)—in the king’s words, “Just as I possess them, in lands, waters, wood, and cleared ground”; besides the lordship of Melrose, and possessions in Sprouston, Berwick, and Roxburgh. And to these (deducting Melrose, which had been in the meantime withdrawn), on the transference of the abbey to Kelso, David added that town—“with its proper bounds in land and water, discharged quit and free from every burden”; Reveden, or Redden—with right of water, pasture, and peat-cutting; thirty acres of land at Lilliesclif, betwixt Ale and the stream which divides the lands of Midlem and Lilliesclif; Withelawe (Whitelaw), and Traverlen (Crailing), with its “crag”; besides rights in Edinham and elsewhere.² Further, in Roxburgh he gave them the churches (apparently three in number) and schools of the burgh, with the property assigned thereto.

In addition to gifts of real property, David made the monks many grants in commodities. Thus we find a charter of Alexander II. commuting for a money payment a right on the part of the monks to the tithe of the king’s cows and swine, and kane³ cheese of Nithsdale and Tweeddale, and to the half of the hides and tallow of the cattle slaughtered for his kitchen on the south side of the Firth of Forth, with all the skins of the sheep and lambs, and the tenth of the deer-skins.⁴ Besides the above there fall to be reckoned,

¹ Charter of the Foundation of the Abbey of Selkirk, translated by Craig-Brown.

² Liber de Calchou, fol. 8.

³ Rent paid in kind.

⁴ Liber de Calchou, fol. 15; translated by Morton, p. 112.

as bestowed at this time, privileges—such as, for instance, a monopoly in the mill at Ednam, and last, if not least, the fishing rights in certain waters of the Tweed. Among the latter is specified the water extending from the bounds of Kelso to Birgham, celebrated in the present day as containing the pick of the salmon-casts, which have been known within recent years to command in rent as much as £400 a-year. Verily, had the case of Kelso been solitary, instead of one of many, it might almost have been held of itself to justify the plaintive remark of James I., quoted by Major, that his ancestor had been “ane sair sanct for the Crown!” In the great charter alluded to above, Malcolm IV. confirmed all the gifts of his grandfather to the abbey, which also received some further accessions from himself and his successors.

But, of course, the sovereigns were not by any means the only benefactors of the abbey. On the contrary, to follow the royal example soon became the fashion, not only among members of the landed aristocracy, but among the wealthier burgesses as well. Of their benefactions a few examples must suffice. To one Maccus, son of Undweyn, David I. had granted certain lands near the confluence of Tweed and Teviot, called from the name of the grantee Maccusville, or Maxwell—the cradle of the great family of that name. A member of this family, Herbert de Maxwell, who flourished in this and subsequent reigns, grants the church of the village of Maxwell, dedicated to St Michael, to the monks of Kelso Abbey. And to this was added—subsequently of course to 1170, the year of Becket’s martyrdom—the neighbouring chapel of St Thomas the Martyr, which had been founded and endowed with a toft by the same Herbert.¹ It may be mentioned in passing that the field

¹ Liber de Calchou, fol. 154.

in which this chapel stood is still known by the name of the Chapel Park, and that the traditional site of the chapel has been marked with a stone. The name of Maccus occurs again in Maxton, the name of a village a few miles higher up the Tweed. In the reign of Malcolm IV., Galfrid de Perci granted to the church and monks of Kelso, "for the salvation of his soul, and that of David and his son Henry, and those of his ancestors and successors," a carucate, or ploughgate, of fivescore and four acres of land in Heiton, adjoining the land of the Hospital of Roxburgh¹—that is, the land still known as Maisondieu, where outlines formed by the *debris* of buildings are still very noticeable, and where (according to Jeffrey) the monks of Kelso had a hospital "for the reception of pilgrims, the diseased, and the indigent." Then, in the same reign, William de Morville and Muriel his wife grant the monks six oxgangs of land in the territory of Brockesmuth (on the Tweed, between Makerstoun and Floors)—a gift which is confirmed and doubled, after De Morville's death, by his widow and her second husband, Robert de Landels.² Bernard de Haudene, or Hadden, whose uncle had received the manor of that name from King William, added to lands which the monks already held there eight acres and a rood, which adjoined them;³ Uctred of Molle, or Mow, on Bowmont Water, granted the church of that place, with land adjacent, carefully defined—which he and "Aldred the dean have walked over";⁴ whilst Anselm of Molle, Richard Scot, his son, and many others, made further benefactions in that then important district, from which the tide of life has now so strangely turned.

The above are but a few examples, selected almost at

¹ Liber de Calchou, fol. 137.

² Ibid., fol. 124. Morton, p. 111, quotes merely the confirmation, but the words of the charter run as follows: "Sex bovatas . . . ad sex bovatas quas Willielmus de Morevilla et ego Muriel . . . dedimus et concessimus."

³ Liber de Calchou, fol. 86.

⁴ Ibid., fol. 72.

random from the vast array of benefactions recorded in the charters, for the purpose of illustrating the manner in which the estates of the abbey were accumulated. And it may be sufficient to add that those benefactions include not grants by local landowners alone, but gifts of lands situated across the Border—as at Shotton or Colpinhopes,—as well as of churches and lands in such comparatively remote localities as Peebles, Innerleithen, Linton Roderick or West Linton, Hermitage in Liddesdale, Duddingston, Edinburgh, Calder, Pencaitland, Lesmahagow, Cambusnethan, and Dumfries. Not infrequently these gifts are made specifically for the benefit of the soul of a relative or friend of the donor, or in consideration of a right granted to the benefactor to have a private chapel in his house. Nor, as has been already hinted, did the benefactions proceed from great landed proprietors alone. Thus, under King William, we find Arnald, son of Peter of Kelso, granting to the monks the messuage in Kelso which had been his father's, together with three shillings of annual rent to be paid by Ralph, Provost of Kelso,¹ and his heirs;² whilst one Andrew Maunsel gives them leave to construct a weir for their mill at Kelso upon a part of his ground lying to the east of the town of Roxburgh.

There exist indications that the earliest system of land-tenancy employed by the monks of Kelso was that known as “steelbow,” by which the landlord advances to the occupier, with his farm, the stock or “plant” necessary for cultivating it. Thus it is recorded that at Redden each husbandman, or tenant of a holding of twenty-six acres, received with his land two oxen, a horse, three chalders of oats, six bolls of barley, and three of wheat. Our principal source for information regarding the system of cultivation pursued by the monks relates, however, to a later time than this. It is an interesting

¹ “Proposito de Kalchou.”

² Liber de Calchou, fol. 136.

rent-roll of the abbey, belonging to about the year 1290 ; at which period—as the result of many years of peace and prosperity—the status of the cultivator had so risen that he was able not only to dispense with advances in kind from his landlord, but even to some extent to commute for a money rent the various stipulated “services” by which he held his land.¹

The rent-roll, which has been ably analysed by Mr Cosmo Innes, shows the monks in the character of farmers on a great scale, devoting themselves with business-like thoroughness and minute attention to detail to the management of their estates. It appears that then, and probably always, they kept the greater part of their lands in their own hands, cultivating them from granges, which were under the superintendence of a monk or a lay-brother. Among other places, there were granges at Redden, Sprouston, Mow, Fawdon, and Bowden. These granges consisted of large farm-steadings, with the usual accommodation for the housing of labourers and stock, and the storing of grain and implements. A mill adjoined them. The crops raised were wheat, oats, and barley ; whilst stock consisted principally of sheep, pigs, and cows. Oxen were chiefly used for ploughing—twelve, used either together or in two relays, being allotted to each of the old-fashioned ploughs—and, except for this purpose, they do not seem to have been bred in large numbers by the monks. Of course in Teviotdale pasture-lands were extensive, and the careful provisions relating to folds and byres in the hill districts, and to temporary lodges for the herds, show that this branch of farming received minute attention.² Pastures were

¹ Liber de Calchou (Bannatyne Club), p. 455, and Preface, p. xxxii *et seq.*

² Innes's Scotland in the Middle Ages, p. 147. Some of the rights which we are most apt to associate with modern feeling are curiously protected by these old charters. One grant of pasturage especially pro-

also carefully protected from encroachment by tillage, and penalties were exacted for the trespassing of sheep or cattle. Roads appear to have been frequent. Waggons were in use for harvest-work, and wains—perhaps sledges—for bringing peat from the moss. Wheaten bread was eaten on holidays.

The labour of the farm was carried on by serfs or villeins—styled *nativi*, and no doubt recruited from the original inhabitants of the country—a class of bondmen, housed with their families at the granges, and with them transferred from owner to owner like the land they cultivated. Of this form of slavery Innes quotes the instance of “Halden and his brother William, with all their children and all their descendants,” conveyed, in a deed four lines long, by an Earl of Dunbar to the abbey. A later deed conveys—together with some lands at Gordon—two crofts occupied by Adam of the Hog and John the son of Lethe, “and Adam of the Hog himself with all his following,” and others. It has been thought that a comparison of these two bonds reveals a difference in the condition of the parties disposed of—the former admitting the connection of the serf with the soil, and possibly the existence of rights therewith; the latter regarding him as an absolute villein, or mere article of property. But it is not apparent that any distinction of this kind was recognised by the law. It may be pointed out in passing that the condition of the old *adscriptus glebæ* on the Borders again suggests a marked contrast with the present order of things—under

vides against the erection of permanent buildings; whilst provisions against possible disturbance to game, and especially to the red-deer, are of frequent occurrence. In spite of a prevalent impression to the contrary, arising from a peculiar use of the term “forest,” there is also evidence to show that the South of Scotland was not at this time well supplied with timber, and that rights of wood-cutting were carefully preserved (Liber de Melrose, Bannatyne Club, Preface).

which the hind and his family are generally prepared to “flit” for the smallest inducement, or for none. Still, we must not forget that what at this distance of time looks like slavery may, after all, have been generally regarded mainly as an arrangement of convenience.

Of course the villeins constituted but one among several ranks of cultivators under the monks, and the only class, it may be added, who were not virtually and effectually free from servitude. Next in order above them were the “cottars,” whose dwellings—sometimes from thirty to forty in number—would form a hamlet adjoining the grange. Each of these cottars would occupy from one to nine acres of land, for which, and his cottage, he paid a rent varying from one to six shillings yearly, with services which were not to exceed nine days’ labour in the year.¹ Examples of this form of tenancy are quoted from Clarilaw, where twenty-one cottars, holding each, in addition to their cottages, three acres less a rood of land, and grazing for two cows, paid each two bolls of meal yearly, and were bound to reap the corn of the abbey grange of Newton.

Next in order came the *husbandi*, or holders of “husband-lands,” averaging about twenty-six acres in extent, whose holdings were scattered round those of the cottars. Each of these “husbandmen” kept two oxen, and six of them would unite to furnish the strength necessary to work the common plough. At Bowden, where the monks had twenty-eight husband-lands, each tenant sat at a yearly rent of six shillings and eightpence, in addition to the services which he was bound to perform.²

¹ Liber de Calchou, Preface, p. xxxvii.

² These services, which may be considered typical, are specified as follows:—

“Four days’ reaping in harvest, the husbandman with his wife and all their family; and a fifth day, the husbandman with two other men;

Above the husbandmen came the yeomen—a numerous class, holding their lands in perpetuity in consideration of certain rents and services; and lastly, the great Church vassals, who had lands free of all service, and occupied a position second only to that of the baronage and freeholders of the Crown.

In dealing with the Border abbeyes, I have dwelt on Kelso at considerable length, not only as having precedence of the others in time and rank, but also as constituting in many respects a type. The others may therefore be dealt with more rapidly. The next to be considered is Melrose—a name which takes us back to the period of St Cuthbert. The old monastery had been burned in 839, during an invasion of Northumbria, by the King of Scots; but it seems

“One day carting peats from Gordon to the Pullis (Pools), and one cart-load yearly from the Pullis to the abbey;

“The service of a man and horse to and from Berwick once a-year; and on this occasion they were to have their food from the monastery. (The husbandmen of Redden were bound each to give carriage with one horse from Berwick weekly during summer, and a day’s work on their return—or, if they did not go to Berwick, two days’ tillage.) In these services of carriage, a horse’s load was three bolls of corn, or two bolls of salt, or one and a half bolls of coals; or somewhat less in winter;

“To till an acre and a half, and to give a day’s harrowing with one horse yearly;

“To find a man for the sheep-washing, and one for the sheep-shearing: these were to be fed from the monastery;

“To serve with a waggon one day yearly, for carrying home the harvest;

“All were bound to carry the abbot’s wool from their barony to the abbey, and to find carriages across the moor to Lesmahago.”—Preface to the *Liber de Calchou*, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii.

It is probable that all tenants and vassals of the abbey were also bound to co-operate in relieving it of military and other public services—of which an example is found at Prestfield, part of the barony of Bowden, which is bound to provide a man-at-arms to be captain over thirty archers furnished by the barony.

Among all the services specified above, it is noticeable that, except in the harvest-field, no farm labour is exacted from women.

to have been restored again before 875. At any rate, in the latter year it served as one of the many resting-places of St Cuthbert's body, which the legend declares to have miraculously floated thence, in its stone coffin, down the Tweed as far as Tillmouth. Towards the end of the eleventh century, however, the monastery had again become ruinous and deserted,¹ and from this time forth the establishment is heard of principally as a chapel dedicated to St Cuthbert and much resorted to by pilgrims—by whom, when travelling thither from the north, the ancient road known as the Girthgate is thought to have been made.² At this time the chapel was attached to the Priory of Coldingham; but in 1136, when David founded a new monastery somewhat higher up the Tweed, he annexed the older one to it, making good the loss to Coldingham by a gift of the church at Berwick. Henceforward St Cuthbert's chapel sinks to secondary importance, though it continued in existence until finally destroyed by the English in the Border warfare with Bruce.³

By the munificence of David, the new abbey was endowed with the lands of Melrose, Eildon, Darnick, and Gattonside, with rights of fishing in the Tweed, of timber and pasturage in the forests of Selkirk and Traquair, and of pasturage in the land lying between Gala and Leader on the north side of the Tweed⁴—which grants were confirmed by Prince Henry and were rapidly swelled, as in the case of Kelso, by private benefactions. Besides possessions in Northumberland, the abbey held in particular wide estates in Galloway and other parts of the west, which from their situation lie outside the immediate scope of this volume. In 1235 Alexander II. granted it the lands of Ettrick Forest. As at Kelso again, the monks—

¹ Morton, p. 193.

² Jeffrey, vol. iv. p. 34.

³ Wade's History of St Mary's Abbey, Melrose, p. 94.

⁴ Morton, p. 202.

who came from Rievaulx in Yorkshire, and were the first of their kind introduced into Scotland—belonged to a reformed order of Benedictines,—in this case known as Cisterians, from their first monastery at Cisteaux. But the Cisterians, at any rate in earlier times, differed from the Tironenses in the severer regulation and greater asceticism of their lives. Thus the receipt of dues from mills was forbidden to them, and they were under strict sumptuary laws in regard to diet and the accessories of life—illuminated manuscripts, rich windows, and the ecclesiastical employment of precious stones and metals, being discountenanced among them. Also, in face of the monkish adage that “cloister life without letters is a living death,” the cultivation of classical literature was discouraged. Enjoined, at least in theory, to live by the labour of their hands, they became, like their neighbours at Kelso, great patrons and exponents of husbandry and cattle-feeding. Their alternative occupation—original thought being to some extent fettered—consisted in the transcribing of books, and it is to their industry in this department that a most interesting surviving memorial of them is due. This is the ‘Chronica de Mailros,’ a record of events of the highest value in Scottish history. The names of its authors are unknown; but expressions employed by them prove it to have been produced in the abbey, whilst the evidence from writing shows it to have been the work of successive hands labouring in successive epochs. Opening in the year 735, for several centuries it is mainly, though not quite exclusively, a compilation from such works as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and those of Symeon and Hoveden. For the monkish chroniclers, who generally wrote simply for utilitarian purposes, aimed rather at producing books of reference than works of literary merit, and thus did not scruple to take their information where they found it, or to copy slavishly

from their predecessors. From about the year 1140, however, onward to its abrupt termination in 1270, the Chronicle has a higher value, its information being then at first-hand and generally contemporaneous. As its compilers had copied from others, so other compilers in their turn copied from it, and with this object it appears to have been freely "lent out." The MS. now survives in a single copy deposited in the Cottonian Library, having probably been carried off from Melrose about the time of the Reformation. Besides its Chronicle, Melrose has handed down a collection of charters which is perhaps unrivalled in Scotland. It comprises above a hundred royal writs, dating from the reign of David to that of Bruce, and is rich in illustrations of the social life and economy of the period. This collection was preserved among the archives of the Earls of Morton, to whose family the abbacy was granted after the suppression of the monasteries.

The luxuriant and charmingly fanciful decorations of Melrose as it now stands form a somewhat startling comment on the recorded asceticism of its monks. Doubtless the rigour of that asceticism became with time relaxed; but we have also to remember that the ruins now seen are not those of the church which—having taken ten years to build—was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin on Sunday, the 28th July 1146.¹ That edifice was doubtless in a style of architecture similar to those seen at Kelso, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh; but its unlucky situation—in the very highroad between rival countries—exposed it in a peculiar degree to the perils of Border warfare, and thus it is doubtful whether a vestige of the original structure now remains.² Its destruction was

¹ *Chronica de Mailros.*

² Messrs MacGibbon and Ross consider that a fragment of the original north wall may have been preserved as the core of the present wall, and faced up on both sides with newer work (*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 360, 361).

the work of Edward II. in 1322, when returning from an unsuccessful expedition into Scotland. Rebuilt by a pious bequest of Robert Bruce, it was set fire to in 1385 by Richard II., under circumstances resembling those of its previous destruction. Thus the remains which now survive belong wholly to a period later than Bruce's time, and, to a great extent, to one later than Richard's; whilst the Border warfare of the sixteenth century, the religious iconoclasm of the seventeenth century, and the brutish vandalism of a later age, which used the old abbeys as a quarry, have all left marks upon them. Of the extensive conventual buildings once connected with the abbey, all that now remains is a fragment of the cloister.

The ruins now present the usual architectural patchwork harmonised by time, exhibiting a perfect prodigality of rich detail, and constituting in all a rare mine of interest for the student. The styles represented are the Decorated and the Perpendicular, either of which may be here observed in as great perfection as anywhere in Scotland. In general design the abbey forms a complete contrast to that of Kelso, not only as exemplifying the much more artificial workmanship of two centuries later, but also from the fact that the nave here is of unusual length, and the choir unusually short. The effect of this latter arrangement is, however, to some extent counteracted by a screen of masonry (which is not a later addition) being carried across the nave.¹ Of the building as it now stands, the nave, from the crossing to the rood-loft, together with parts of the transepts, constitutes the oldest portions—a distinct change being traceable in the remaining portions of the transept, which, with the tower, belong seemingly to a later date. The older portions of the building—which include the exquisitely carved caps of piers

¹ MacGibbon and Ross, vol. ii. p. 349.

in the nave, the pinnacles and the flying buttresses (unique in Scotland) on the south side, the splendid tracery of the window of the south transept, and its buttresses enriched with canopies and corbels—exemplify lavishly the Decorated period in Scotland, and are said by experts to bear a close relationship to the Decorated work of the nave of York Minster, dated about 1400.¹ It is not improbable, therefore, that some parts of the nave and transept were erected between the death of Bruce and the burning of the abbey by Richard II.; whilst restorations and additions seem to have been carried out during the first half of the next century—to which date the south chapels of the nave may perhaps be assigned. The arms of Abbot Hunter, who flourished about 1450-60, suffice to fix the date of the vault of the south transept, on one of the keystones of which they are carved, as also, in all probability, of some of the vaulting in the eastern part of the nave.

It seems to have been the choir which suffered most injury at the hands of Richard, for it has been rebuilt in a later style of architecture—the upper portion of its walls, the fine east window, with other windows here and in the transept, being Perpendicular in their character. Since then they have had the good fortune to escape comparatively unharmed. The royal arms, with initials and date 1505, on the westernmost buttress of the nave, seem to testify that work was in progress there and in the south chapels as late as the reign of James IV. The beautiful remains of the cloister present some features which bear the appearance of early work; but expert opinion has pronounced them to illustrate that “late revival of early forms which prevailed towards the close of the Gothic epoch.”² The beautiful carvings there and elsewhere, representing foliage and shells, or figures of monks

¹ MacGibbon and Ross, vol. ii. p. 363.

² Ibid., p. 375.

and angels displaying scrolls or playing upon musical instruments, are especially worthy of notice ; whilst the excellent nature of the local red sandstone in which they are carved has fortunately preserved them almost undefaced.

The names of the architects of the Border abbeys are as hopelessly lost as those of the authors of the Border ballads ; but what seems like a feeble ray of light on the building of Melrose tantalises us in the form of two old inscriptions carved in the wall of the south transept. The first runs as follows :—

“ Sa gays ye Cumpas evyn about
Sua truth and laute¹ sall do but ² doute,
Behalde to ye hende q. John Morvo.”

The second :—

“ John Morow sum tym callit was I,
And born in Parysse certainly,
And had in keepyng al masoun werk
Of Santandroys ye hye kyrk,
Of Glasgw, Melros and Pasley,
Of Nyddysdayll and of Galway ;
I pray to God and Mari baith
And sweet S. John kep this haly kirk frae skaith.”

The problem, “ Who was John Morow ? ” continues to exercise Border antiquarians.³

Less is known of the early history of Jedburgh Abbey than of either Kelso or Melrose. There is record of the existence of a chapel at Old Jedburgh, a few miles farther up the Jed, as far back as the first half of the ninth century.⁴ It was founded by Egred, Bishop of Lindisfarne (whose name may possibly be traced in the neighbouring Edgerstoun), and remained within the see of Durham until the episcopacy of

¹ Equity.

² Without.

³ See, A Scots Mediæval Architect, by P. M'Gregor Chalmers

⁴ Symeon's Ecclesiastical History, chap. 20.

Ralph Flambard, when Teviotdale was transferred to the see of Glasgow, as was the country north of the Tweed to that of St Andrews. Soon after this, David, as yet but Prince of Cumbria, invited to Scotland a company of monks from the Abbey of St Quentin at Beauvais, and established them in a priory at Jedburgh. These monks were of the order of Canons Regular, or Augustine Friars, so called from the celebrated St Augustine, author of the 'Confessions.' In 1147, or perhaps a few years later,¹ their priory was erected by David into an abbey, and it was probably after this date that the building of the existing fabric began. Like Kelso and Melrose, Jedburgh Abbey was dedicated to the Virgin, and richly endowed by the king and the nobles of the district. Within its walls David's successor Malcolm breathed his last, "snatched away in the bloom of his lily-youth";² and it was there also in all probability that the pageant at the marriage of Alexander III. was brought to its untimely termination. Thus through the greater part of the two centuries of the Golden Age of the Borders, the abbey seems to have retained the special favour of the sovereign. During the English wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it sustained frequent injuries—the lead being stript from its roof under Edward I., whilst the monastic buildings (which have now disappeared) were so much destroyed that the monks sought shelter elsewhere. In short, when all things are considered, we may well feel surprise at the present completeness of its outer walls.

David's grants to the monks of the new abbey comprised the old Monastery of Jedworth, with all its possessions—in-

¹ Fordun says 1147; but Osbert, called in the Melrose Chronicle "primus abbas de Jeddewrtha," is still spoken of as prior in 1150 (Morton, p. 4).

² Fordun, Skene's ed., p. 253.

cluding the tithes of the two Jedworths or Jedburghs, of Lanton, Nesbyt, the two Crelings, with the town of Orm (or Ormistoun on Teviot), and Scraesburghe or Scraesbrae; besides the chapel situated "in the passage of the wood"¹ over against Hernwingslawe (Mervinslaw), and Ulveston, Alneclive, near Alncromb, Crumsethe, and Raperlaw.² Besides these—the tithe of game killed by himself in hunting in Teviotdale; mill dues of the town mill at Jedburgh; pasture rights in the king's forest; and (with one puzzling reservation) rights of wood and timber for the use of the monastery; to which were added houses in the towns of Roxburgh and Berwick, a fishing in the Tweed, and other gifts. A noticeable grant by Malcolm IV. was that of exemption from duty on wine imported at Berwick. Then, passing on to the reign of Bruce, we find that that king granted to the Abbot of Jedburgh, bidding at the dependent Priory of Restenneth, the teinds of his horses and studs, with hay for their maintenance. Robert III. added the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen at Rutherford, on the condition of a qualified chaplain being maintained there; and it was specially provided that, in case of the destruction of the hospital by the inroads of the English or other chances of war, the divine offices were to be celebrated at Jedburgh until it should be rebuilt.³ Besides the above, the canons had property in the shires of Stirling and Linlithgow, of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northampton; had dependent priories at Restenneth and Canonby, and were patrons of the Priory of Blantyre.⁴ Among the names of their private benefactors occur those of Berengarius de Engain, one of David's Norman followers; of Christiana, wife of

¹ "In saltu nemoris."

² Charters quoted by Morton, p. 55 *et seq.*

³ Morton, p. 53.

⁴ Watson's Jedburgh Abbey, 2nd ed., p. 58.

Gervas Ridel ; of Gaufrid de Perci, who gave the church at Oxnam ; and of Ranulph de Sulas, who gave that of the vale of Liddle.

The discipline of the Augustine Friars is stated to have been less rigid than that of other monks, though, judged by secular standards, the following account shows it to have been by no means lacking in rigidity. The rules by which their daily life was regulated were held to have been delivered to Norbert of Magdeburg, their founder, by Augustine himself, in a golden book, whilst he slept. Devotions were to be performed seven times a-day—first of all, in the small hours, when the sleeping canons would be summoned to church by the ringing of the dormitory bell, which was continued for as long a time as would be required to recite the seven penitential psalms. Matins over, the brothers retired to bed again until six o'clock, the hour of Prime, when they attended mass, performed their private devotions, or went to confession, till it was time for the daily general meeting in the chapter-house. Here, after further religious exercise, the business of the fraternity was transacted. And now, also, any one who had been convicted of transgression was expected to prostrate himself on the ground, to make confession, and to ask pardon ; upon which penance would be prescribed, or, in some cases, summary chastisement administered. At this time, too, the abbot, in presence of the chapter, would listen to pleas against any one over whom he had jurisdiction. The sitting was concluded, except on days of high festival, by repeating the 'De Profundis.' In winter the meeting of the chapter filled up the time till the hour of Tierce, or nine o'clock, when the canons would troop in twos into the church, chanting the 'Salve Regina' as they went. At this season High Mass was sung at Sexte, or twelve o'clock. During the one-o'clock dinner which followed, the Scripture

or some other edifying book was read aloud—the monks taking this duty in turn, as they did that of waiting at table. The meal consisted of two dishes, except on special occasions, when a third, of dainty nature, called a pittance, would be added. Punctuality was enforced, and a ceremonious courtesy observed—the brothers showing attention to each other's wants, and bowing as they handed dishes or received them. To dinner succeeded relaxation, lasting till three, the hour of Nones. Vespers followed at six, and Compline at seven, after which, and a light supper, the monks would retire for the night. The dormitory served as a general bedroom, and they slept without sheets and in their day dress. Their fasts were at first exceedingly severe, but were afterwards relaxed.¹ Their work, besides study and transcription, comprised field-labour, at which in hay-time and harvest they worked from early morn until after Vespers, reciting the prescribed prayers where they stood. Their habit consisted of a long black cassock, a white rochet, and a black cloak and hood, and they differed from the generality of other orders in wearing caps instead of cowls, and in allowing their beards to grow.

Notwithstanding that the outer walls of the abbey remain on the whole so remarkably complete, the choir, the presbytery, and the vaulted side aisles of the nave have all been to a large extent destroyed. With regard to the varying dates or architectural styles of different parts of the fabric, it is noticeable that in the choir the two lower storeys of two bays near the crossing are in the Norman style—which style, continued in the transepts, reappears in the west end wall—the great doorway and windows in the latter being characteristically Norman. The clerestory of the choir and the body of the nave are, on the other hand, of a well-

¹ *Bibliotheca Præmonstratensis*, quoted by Morton, p. 292 *et seq.*

advanced transitional style—obviously work of a considerably later date, and probably belonging to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. The inference of experts from the above is that the whole building was originally “set out and partially executed in Norman times,” and that the work was either interrupted for a considerable period and then resumed, or else destroyed after being completed, and restored in the later style.¹ Again, at a yet later date, both transepts seem to have been much repaired. This would probably be done after the assaults of the fifteenth century, at which time the crossing also would seem to have been rebuilt. The restoration, distinctly visible on the south-east pier,² was probably the work of Abbot John Hall—appointed in 1478—whose name may be seen upon the pier. The rebuilding of the north-west and south-west piers of the crossing, and of the arch uniting them, is assigned to Abbot Thomas Cranstoun (appointed 1482), whose arms—three cranes and two pastoral staves borne saltier-wise—are seen on the south-west pier, and whose initials are repeated thereabout. The chapel to the north of the original Norman north transept dates apparently from the fifteenth century; while the tower seems to have been erected about 1500. In 1523, soon after the restoration above described, the abbey was again attacked and burnt by Surrey; whilst in 1544 and 1545, having been again repaired, it was again burnt and pillaged by Sir Ralph Eure and by Hertford respectively, from which last assaults it has never since recovered. It was, however, still destined to undergo some further ill-usage, of a not intentionally hostile character, and, after being occupied by a modern church until 1875, it has at

¹ MacGibbon and Ross, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 412.

² *Ibid.*

last had the good fortune to fall into the right keeping, where all has been done for it that wise care, joined with fine taste, can do.

The most notable details now presented by this beautiful ruin are probably the rich and elaborate south and west doorways — both of them fine examples of late Norman design ; and the peculiar arrangement by which main piers in the choir are carried up, “as massive cylindrical columns,” to the height of the arch over the triforium.¹ As at Kelso, the west front has originally been finished with an octagonal turret on either side ; whilst, from the structural arrangement which supplies no buttress capable of resisting the thrust of a vault, it is evident that the central aisle was not intended to be vaulted.²

Though our limits forbid us to do more than merely glance at the minor religious establishments of the time, a few words devoted to that subject are essential to a picture of Border life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We may suppose that the earliest churches in the country had been founded to facilitate or to commemorate the labours of those Christian missionaries who first spread the light of the Gospel among the pagan natives, and of such foundations the church of Traquair may probably be taken as an example. At any rate, our earliest source of local ecclesiastical information is an Inquest³ which was held by the sages and elders of the district about the year 1116, with a view to determine the possessions of the see of Glasgow, which inquest finds that in ancient times the see had possessed a church at Treuerquyrd.⁴ At the date above given there would

¹ Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland, vol. i. p. 401.

² Ibid., p. 410.

³ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis (Bannatyne Club ed.), p. 5.

⁴ Origines Parochiales Scotiæ (Bannatyne Club), vol. i. p. 219.

appear to have been no ecclesiastical divisions recognised which corresponded to parishes in our sense of the word—that is, to districts appropriated to one baptismal church, or church having rights of baptism, marriage, and burial. Probably the limits of the parish were at first determined by those of the manor, and the case of Ednam in Roxburghshire has been cited as illustrating the process by which the parish came into being.¹ Here David's brother Edgar had bestowed on an Englishman named Thor, and nicknamed Longus, the land of "the home on the river Eden" in its waste condition. Thor, at his own charges, cultivated and settled this desert, which thus became his manor, on which he erected a church. The church was endowed by the king with a ploughgate of land, in addition to which it soon obtained the tithes and dues of the manor. Thor then, "for the weal of King Edgar's soul, the weal of his own soul and body, and the redemption of his beloved brother," transferred the whole to the monks of Durham. So, from this little bit of history, not only the formation of parishes, but the process also by which the monasteries devoured them, may be said to receive illustration.

By the middle of the thirteenth century we find that the parish of Molle is already territorially defined, and has the term "parish" applied to it very much in our modern sense. In the contemporary church records, a term of less frequent use than *parochia* is *plebania*—used to denote the district of a mother-church (generally of very ancient foundation) which possesses subordinate churches; and of this a local instance is found in the *plebania* of Stobo, with its four subordinate parishes of Broughton, Dawick, Drummelzier, and Tweedsmuir.² Among other Border churches, that of

¹ Origenes Parochiales Scotiæ, Preface, p. xxvii, note.

² Ibid., Preface, p. xxi, note.

Seleschirche has been already referred to. In early times it probably stood alone, for prior to 1235 there appears to have been no church within the district known as Ettrick;¹ whilst if there was one at Rankleburn, records are silent with regard to it.² Galashiels, formerly known as Lindean, was a vicarage in 1275.³ Peebles had probably been a religious site from very early times; for the town well is dedicated to the patron saint of Glasgow,⁴ whilst the Inquest of 1116 finds that the see of that place had anciently possessed a church there.⁵ Between 1159 and 1165 the church of Innerleithen was granted to the monks of Kelso by Malcolm the Maiden, who, in consequence of the body of his natural son having lain there on the first night after death, constituted the church a place of sanctuary equal in sanctity to that of Wedale—the violation of which incurred peril to life and limb.⁶ The church of Hassendean in Roxburghshire belonged anciently to the Bishop of Glasgow, to whom in 1170 it was confirmed by Pope Alexander III.;⁷ whilst at Hawick, where a church had already existed from an early date, one which had been newly erected was dedicated to St Mary on the 29th day of May 1214.⁸ It has been thought that the two last named may have illustrated the stimulus towards erecting more solid and imposing places of worship which was communicated to the richer barons by the building of the Border abbeys. A book of etchings of the eighteenth century⁹ represents the ruins of Hassendean Church, which have now entirely disappeared, as at

¹ *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. 260.

² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁴ Pennecuik's *Description of Tweeddale*, ed. 1815, p. 287.

⁵ *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. 227.

⁶ *Liber de Calchou*, fol. 16, xxi.

⁷ *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. 316.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁹ *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*, by Adam de Cardonnel, 1788.

that time possessing Norman arches with piers and chevron ornamentation—the whole, as the letterpress puts it, “of no inelegant design.” The church of Hawick, erected by the powerful family of Lovel, and placed on an admirable site, was even more distinguished by its “fine proportions and the lavish grandeur of its internal decorations.”¹ The latter continued in use until 1763, when, becoming ruinous, it was taken down, and another, guiltless of beauty, was set up in its place.

The reader will scarcely have forgotten that a number of what may be called the parish churches of the Border—as, for example, those of Liddesdale and Oxnam—have been cited already as having been granted to the abbeys by various benefactors. In each of these grants the student of ecclesiastical history will recognise a step in the process which was destined to prove fatal to the recipients; for the very accumulation of wealth in the hands of the latter, when thus accompanied by the starvation of the minor benefices, carried with it the seeds of dissolution. In dealing with the period of history which may be said to commence with David I. and to end with the death of Alexander III., I have judged it proper to give the precedence to matters ecclesiastical, for these were in truth paramount in the district at the time, and it is therefore but fitting that they should be preferred even to things so important in their own way as the rise of the local burghs or of the local baronage. The age was, in fact, pre-eminently a religious one, but it was one of religious harmony, and it so happens that, despite its much earlier date, it has left far more of external trace on the Borders than that later period in which religious fervour, doubtless no less genuine, became a source of the harshest discord. The injustice of a growing age came, in time, to cast discredit on the services rendered in their day

¹ St Mary's Church, Hawick, by J. J. Vernon, Esq. Hawick, 1898.

and generation by the monks, and though the age of prejudice against these is now past, it is probable that they have not yet received their just dues of recognition. Their claims upon the gratitude of posterity have been very temperately summed up by a historian who writes that, upon a fair estimate of the materials which have come down to us, we shall find them "always zealous for their order, and for the welfare of their territories and tenants, as conducing to its prosperity ; encouraging agriculture and every improvement of the soil ; leading the way in an adventurous foreign trade, and in all arts and manufactures ; cultivating the learning of the time, and latterly enjoying and teaching to others the enjoyment of the luxuries of civilised life, while they exercised extensive hospitality and charity, and preserved a decorum which was akin to virtue."¹ The same writer adds, that "when we consider the extent of the possessions of a house like Melrose, the affluence, and the amount of power and influence it brought to bear on such objects as these, during ages of lawlessness and rapine, . . . we cannot doubt that their administration of their great territory and revenue, notwithstanding all abuses incident to the system, was more for the happiness of the people than if the possessions of the abbey had fallen at an early period into the hands of some great temporal proprietor."²

From the peaceful life of the Border monasteries we pass to consider the dawn of thought and poetry in the Borders ; and this—if we exclude the somewhat apocryphal connection of Merlin with the district—takes us back to the closing years of the seventh century. At this time there was found dwelling in a hermit's cell attached to the monastery of Old Melrose a certain venerable and holy man, by name Drithelm, who was noted for the rigour of his asceticism. Thus the severest

¹ Liber de Melros, Preface, p. xxix.

² Ibid., p. xxx.

cold of winter could not deter him from breaking the ice on Tweed and entering the water, where he would remain immersed up to the middle or to the neck, whilst he recited psalms and prayers. On coming out from the water, he would allow his wet clothes to dry upon his back ; and when men marvelled at his powers of endurance, or expostulated with him on the severity of his self-discipline, he would reply, in a simple manner, which was characteristic of him, that he had known greater cold, or had seen greater austerity.¹ To the eye of his contemporaries Drithelm seemed a man of limited apprehension, yet he was a visionary as well as an ascetic, and in an age when to men's faith all things seemed possible, his dreams were received as literal records of experience. Thus it got to be reported of him that, whilst still unregenerate, he had died and had been raised from the dead. His tale of his supernatural experiences, first in regions of fire and hail, and then in the flowery and vocal fields of Paradise, was listened to with awe, as well it might be. The vision lives in the pages of Bede, as told by one who had heard it from the lips of the visionary himself ; and stript of its integument of legend, it suffices to associate the name of Drithelm with that of Bunyan.

A far more commanding figure follows Drithelm on the Borders at the close of the Dark Age. It is true that the story of Michael Scot, "the Wizard," remains vague and incomplete ; that the erudition and exhaustive research of his latest biographer² adds to our knowledge but little which is not based upon conjecture. Yet, in spite of this, we see and know enough to recognise in the "Supreme Master," as he came to be called, a thinker and a man of learning of whom any age

¹ Bede's Ecclesiastical History, book v. chap. 12.

² An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot, by Rev. J. Wood Brown.

and any country may well be proud. Scot was born probably about the year 1175, and in his case the name Scot or Scotus has been generally received as a family name, and not as a mere national distinction. The locality of his birth is more difficult to determine, but his biographer's contention is for the region of the valley of the Tweed. It is true that Leland says that he came from Durham; but both Roger Bacon and another contemporary authority speak of him as a Scotsman. Hence it is concluded that he may have come from that southern part of Scotland to which the influence of the see of Durham had at one time extended. Upper Tweeddale has been recognised as the cradle of the Scott family, and there exists a record of payment made by the Crown in 1265 to a Michael of the name, who occupied waste lands near Peebles. Besides the inferences from the above, local legends connected with the Wizard's name must also count for something in establishing his connection with the Border; and in any case he is not to be confounded (as Sir Walter Scott confounded him) with the Scotts of Balwearie in Fife, a family who do not come into existence by that name until a date later than his.

It is by no means improbable that young Scot may have learnt his rudiments at Roxburgh, where there was at that time a grammar-school of repute, thence proceeding to the Cathedral School of Durham, and possibly to the University of Oxford. But his was an age of inquiry—of eager thirst for knowledge—among the few, when the resources of his native island afforded no adequate scope for a man of like aspirations and mental calibre. He passed to Paris, and there won so much distinction in the schools that the names "Mathematicus" and "the Master" were by general consent conferred on him. He entered holy orders—less, as one may guess, from vocation than in deference to a custom of the age—and, as a knowledge of law was at that time greatly

esteemed among clerics, he probably proceeded to the famous law-school of Bologna, there to add that study to those of mathematics and theology, in which he was already proficient. It was now that his opportunity arrived, and when next we hear of him he is at Palermo, where—between the years 1200 and 1209—tradition represents him as tutor to the young Prince Frederick, the grandson of Barbarossa, and afterwards the Emperor Frederick II. This sovereign, in whose hands the power of the Western Empire may be said to have culminated, was to become known as The Wonder of the World, and we have it on so high authority as that of Freeman that he well deserved the name—"for perhaps no king that ever reigned had greater natural gifts," whilst "in thought and learning he was far above the age in which he lived." Are we not justified in tracing something of his prodigious attainments to the fortunate chance which gave his youth such teaching as Scot's? There is evidence, at any rate, that Scot spared no pains on the education of his royal charge, for whose special behoof he composed a handbook to astronomy and a treatise on physiognomy; and it is notable that the dedications to these works are not couched in the usual terms of adulation, but in a tone of easy familiarity—thus exhibiting in a pleasing light the relations between master and pupil.¹ The latter of the two books is thought to have been offered as a wedding-gift to the king, and with Frederick's early marriage Scot's duties about his person came for the time to an end.

Whilst a resident in Palermo, the Master had been brought under those Arabic and Greek influences which still lingered in Sicily, and had probably become conversant with the Arab and Greek languages. When he left the Court, it was to turn his proficiency in Arabic to practical account. And it

¹ Wood Brown, p. 22.

must here be borne in mind that most of the higher knowledge of that age was derived, from Greek originals indeed, but through Arabic or Syrian channels,—a form of culture of which the Arab Avicenna, or Ibn Sina, was reputed the ablest exponent. A school of translators from the Arabic had been established not long before by the Archbishop of Toledo, and to that city Scot now repaired, there to spend ten of the most fruitful years of his life, and to win fame as the ablest expounder the age had yet seen both of the unapproachable Aristotelian philosophy itself and of the wisdom of the Arab commentators which had clustered round it.¹ The first works he produced at Toledo were an abridged translation from an Arabic version of Aristotle's 'Treatise on Animals,' and an 'Abridgment of Avicenna,' also based upon that work. This was published in 1210, and dedicated to the emperor. Frederick was fond of natural history, and possibly that fantastic taste which led him to gather elephants, camelopards, dromedaries, panthers, and rare birds about him may have prompted Scot's undertaking.

At Toledo Scot also studied alchemy, but the most important work of the years he spent there was his translation of the writings of a second Arab sage, Averroës of Cordova, whose works had then recently attracted attention. Averroës, like Avicenna, had devoted himself "to live and die in Aristotle's works"—in the works, that is, of the very incarnation of forbidden knowledge, according to the belief of the vulgar of the Middle Age; but besides this, his works were understood to embody strange and daring speculations of his own, which had led not only to the persecution of their author by the orthodox Moslem, but also to their denunciation by the Church. Averroës was now dead, and of course neither Frederick nor Michael Scot were men to be kept from the

¹ Wood Brown, p. 46.

gratification of intellectual curiosity by deterrents such as the above. It was, however, only in the nature of things that they had to pay for the satisfaction, and the obloquy and isolation which are the portion of advanced thinkers in all ages were duly meted out to them. It was Frederick's fate to suffer excommunication more than once, whilst Scot's translations were censured by the Church, and the author found himself regarded with suspicion accordingly. He may be esteemed singularly fortunate, however, in the powerful protection which he enjoyed, for he returned to Palermo, and there continued to act as Court physician and astrologer. Doubtless in view of his close relations with the emperor, the Pope, Honorius III., now thought well to condone his offence, and even wrote to the English Primate, Stephen Langton, to obtain ecclesiastical preferment for him,—with the result that he was actually elected to the archbishopric of Cashel, though he declined to act, as is alleged, in consequence of a scruple arising from his ignorance of the Irish language. After, but surely not—as has been suggested—in consequence of this, he appears to have fallen into a melancholy,¹ in which the veil of the future seemed to be lifted, so that he became endowed with the gift of prophecy, and, like “True Thomas” in a later day, earned for himself the style of “veridicus vates.” He had no reason to be thankful for this opening of his eyes, for the screed of Latin doggerel in which his soothsayings are said to be embodied is little more than a categorical prediction of misfortunes to the cities of the Empire. “Woe to thee, Mantua!” cries the prophet, with the accent of a new Jeremiah—“Woe to thee, Mantua, filled with so great grief!” and he goes on to foretell the ruin of Rome, long tottering to her downfall, and the passing of the glory of Florence. “The Fates give warning, stars and the

¹ Wood Brown, p. 169.

flights of birds point that way.”¹ Among other things which he foresaw, but was powerless to guard against, was his own death. In 1230, after the publication of his *Averroës*, which had been long held back, Scot came to England, on a journey undertaken that he might communicate the results of his researches to the universities. He may then have revisited his native Border-land; and there, perhaps, he died. Tradition, at least, associates his death and burial with Melrose, though Scot of Satchells, writing at the close of the seventeenth century, locates his tomb in Cumberland.² One thing certain is that he was dead in 1235, in which year it is finely said of him, in a Latin poem by Henry of Avranches, that “he who had impugned Fate has himself submitted to her decree.”

Looking back on Michael Scot from this distance of time, we see him in his true light as a Border *savant* of European reputation, one who resumed in himself all the learning of his time, the translator of *Averroës*, and the restorer to the Western world of the lost treasures of Aristotle. The romance and the pathos, not to say the tragedy, of his story lie in the fact that his contemporaries beheld him in so different a light. Well may melancholy have overtaken him in his declining years! For he that has accumulated sorrow, accumulating knowledge, and then sees himself not merely deprived of sympathy—his lifelong service to his kind misprized—but regarded, through distorting mists of ignorance, with hatred and mistrust,—his lot is indeed a bitter one. And yet this is one of those tragedies of life which spring solely from the “nature of things,” for which no one is responsible, in which either party has but acted in accordance with the dictates of character. Indeed it must even be allowed that Scot

¹ Wood Brown, p. 166.

² A True History of the several Honourable Families of the Right Honourable Name of Scot, &c., by Captain Walter Scot, 3rd ed., p. 41.

laid himself open to misunderstanding, that his studies throughout reveal a bias toward the occult. Thus his early 'Physionomia' deals with a science which taught that the "inward disposition of the soul might be read in visible characters on the bodily frame."¹ Then, again, the chemistry which absorbed so much of his time touched closely on alchemy; whilst there was no border-line to divide astronomy from divination. Whether he actually

- tampered with magic or not is scarcely of consequence, for certainly it wanted but his final prophetic pretensions to raise him in the eyes of the vulgar to the position of high-priest of the occult sciences. The unworthy hostility of such fellow-workers as Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus would not tend to remove the reproach, and far less than a century sufficed to establish the tradition. For when the spiritual eyes of Dante—purged, but prejudiced and partial-seeing—fell on Scot, he saw, indeed, the piteously worn body on which the life of thought had left its mark, but he saw it only as that of one who "knew the trick of magical deceits"²—with the face screwed round over the shoulders, doomed to pay the penalty of sins done in the flesh in the hell of those who would have pried into futurity.

The same objection cannot be urged against those sallies of the clownish imagination which have clustered so thickly round the "Wizard's" name as to make him, on the Borders, and not there alone, the favourite type of the wielder of forbidden powers. The most strikingly local of these legends is that which tells of the spirit, successfully conjured up by the Master's spells, who, when his task was done, threatened to become a source of danger to his summoner, through insatiable demands for more work. Michael's wit was, however, a match for him. The magician first com-

¹ Wood Brown, p. 31.

² Inferno, canto 20.

manded him to bridle the Tweed, which the spirit accomplished—as some say by the construction of the cauld at Kelso Mill, or, as others have it, by means of a remarkable basaltic dyke which crosses the bed of the stream near Edenmouth. His next task was to divide the Eildon Hills, which at that time formed a single summit ; and this also was done, with the result seen at this day. But when, as a last resource, Scot directed him to weave ropes of the sea-sand, the fiend was at last baffled, and it is said that the results of his efforts, ever failing and eternally renewed, may be observed to this day in the shifting sands at Tweedmouth. A version of this story found farther west the country bears that one of the spirit's labours was the riddling of Sandyhill-neuk, which was duly accomplished, the stones taken out being cast into Biggar Moss, several miles off, where they may still be seen.

In these and similar half-humorous essays in the supernatural vein—such as those which tell of Scot's rides through air on a demon horse, his trial of powers with the Witch of Falsehope, and many more—we see the Master brought down to the level of rustic comprehension, and of course ignorance is the readily accepted excuse for these liberties taken with a great name. The legend of Scot's death is more in keeping with a dignified conception of his character, as well as with the suspicion of religious scepticism which, probable in the nature of things, receives support from more than one circumstance of the true story of his life. There is one story, indeed, which makes him come by his death through supping of broth made from a breme sow, or sow ready for the boar ; but the tale which will commend itself to imaginative readers avers that his gift of divination had enabled him to foresee the manner of his end, which was to come through the falling of a stone of not more than eight ounces' weight. He therefore contrived, for the protection of his head, a kind of

helmet so constructed as to withstand a blow from a missile of that weight. But Fate took him when off his guard; for happening to attend mass, and to raise his helmet—as is suggested, in a spirit of mockery—at the elevation of the Host, a stone, loosened by the tolling of the sacring-bell, fell at that moment from the roof of the church and killed him on the spot. Holm Cultram disputes with Melrose the possession of his bones, as well as of his magic books, which were buried with him; whilst one explanation of the tales which have grown up round his name is that he has been confounded in the popular imagination with his predecessor the Tweedside Merlin, the part corresponding to that of King Arthur being played in his story by the Emperor Frederick.

A character whom legend has transformed not less than Michael Scot, but with a kindlier, more idealising touch, is Thomas of Erceldoune, called the Rhymer. He belongs, properly, to Berwickshire, and it is only by virtue of his association with certain localities in Roxburghshire that he comes within our sphere. The dates of his birth and death are alike uncertain, but his lifetime must have covered the greater part of the thirteenth century — ranging perhaps between the years 1220 and 1297; whilst the most positive documentary evidence of his existence which has come down to us is his signature, as witness, to a deed by which Peter de Haga of Bemersyde binds himself to pay half a stone of wax annually to the abbot and Convent of Melrose for the Chapel of St Cuthbert.¹ This document is undated, but from internal evidence its date may be approximately fixed as between 1260 and 1270.² The distinction of Thomas of

¹ *Liber de Melros* (Bannatyne Club), No. 334.

² *The Haigs of Bemersyde*, by John Russell, p. 75. *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*. Edited by J. A. H. Murray, LL.D. Early English Text Society, 1875. Introduction, p. xi, fixes the date as 1230-1240.

Erceldoune is twofold ; for as poet he has been recognised as the father of Scottish song, whilst as prophet his fame has entirely eclipsed that of his predecessor, Scot. Dealing first with the more authentic and credible of his achievements, the poems which have been ascribed to him are the metrical romance to which Sir Walter Scott, who first printed it, gave the name of "Sir Tristrem," and that of "Thomas and the Queen." The authorship of both these poems has been the subject of much controversy, which we may resume by stating the opinion of the latest authorities that the former is a genuine work of the Rhymer, whilst the latter in its present form belongs to a much later date than his (probably about 1440), but is in all likelihood based upon an original from his hand. "Sir Tristrem" is preserved in a single copy—not the author's, as is proved by internal evidence—in the Auchinleck MS. of old English poetry in the Advocates' Library—written on vellum in a handwriting of the beginning of the fourteenth century. The evidence mainly relied on for ascribing it to the Rhymer is that of the English Chronicle of his contemporary, Robert Mannyng of Brunne, written about 1330, which may be taken as "recording and representing the belief of the age in which Thomas of Erceldoune lived."¹ The poem deals with the adventures of the Arthurian Tristram, and his love-passages with the two Ysondes.

The remaining poem of 'Tomas off Ersseldoune' has been preserved more or less entire in four separate manuscripts, whilst the prophetic portion (omitting the introductory First Fytte) exists also in a fifth.² It embodies the traditional legend of the Rhymer and the Fairy Queen, and though the composition puzzlingly confounds the first and third persons

¹ Sir Tristrem. Edited for the Scottish Text Society by George P. M'Neill, LL.B., 1886. Introduction, p. xlv.

² Murray, Introduction, p. lvi.

singular, it may be taken as at least to some extent autobiographical. It tells how as Thomas lay on Huntley banks upon a morn of May, and heard the singing of the birds, he beheld a lady, richly appavelled, come riding towards him on a dappled steed. Enchanted by her beauty, he endeavours to win her love, and, after revealing herself as queen of a realm which is neither in heaven nor paradise, nor yet in hell, purgatory, or "middle earth," she allows his suit. Then they enter together under Eildon Hill, and after journeying for three days in darkness reach a castle, where they take up their abode and dwell together in mutual absorption, dalliance, and joy. At the end of three years, however, Thomas is suddenly bidden to return to earth, to escape seizure by an infernal power, and the lady, conducting him again to Eildon Tree, there bids him farewell. At parting he asks a token of her, and at this point the poem, in recording her reply, branches off into prophecy, which by most critics is thought to be a later interpolation, added after the events in Scottish history which it pretends to foretell. The lady then promises to meet her lover again on Huntley banks, and so leaves him. Thus far the poem, but legend has rounded off the tale. It tells how, after his return to earth, the Rhymer astonished his countrymen by his prophetic powers. But the days to be spent by him among them were numbered. And, accordingly, one day as he sat in his tower at Earlstoun, making merry with his friends, it was suddenly announced to him with wonder that a hart and hind might be seen passing through the village. On hearing of this supernatural token, Thomas at once rose up and went out from among his friends, and following the animals back to their native forest, was seen no more of men.¹

It is interesting to note that the localities associated with

¹ *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. ii. pp. 248, 249.

this fantastic legend may still be identified.¹ Eildon Tree stood on the slope of the easternmost Eildon, on a spot which commands a magnificent view of the vale of Tweed, and is still marked by the Eildon Stone, a rugged boulder occupying a position by the highway-side. Close by is the Bogle burn, a streamlet falling into Tweed, which may have derived its name from the Rhymer's supernatural visitant. Huntley banks, where the poet lay and watched the lady's approach, are on the slope of the same hill, about half a mile to the west; whilst still farther west, and in fact at the base of the westernmost hill, is the romantic Rhymer's Glen. This name, however, is of modern origin, having been conferred by Sir Walter Scott, who added the glen to his Abbotsford estate.

Turning to the "prophecies" current under the Rhymer's name, we may at least admit that their generally gloomy tone was amply justified by the national disasters impending at the time when they are said to have been uttered. As was to be expected, they contain many local allusions, some of which are interesting for the light which they cast, not indeed upon the future, but upon their own time. Thus the early importance of Roxburgh is illustrated, though unconsciously, in a MS. quoted by Pinkerton from the earlier part of the fourteenth century, in which, among types of improbability, the Rhymer specifies the case "when Rokesbourh nys no burgh." In the same context, the line, "When loudyonys forest, ant forest ys felde" (*i.e.*, When Lothian is forest, and the Forest is field), throws light on the distribution of woodland in the Border country at the same date. The prophet is also said to have foretold the construction of a bridge over Tweed, which should be visible from Eildon Tree, and the fall of Kelso Kirk when "at the fullest." But an opinion of the value and authenticity of these later prophecies may be

¹ Murray, Introduction, p. 1 *et seq.*

formed from the fact that in one of them¹ the Rhymer is made to impart information to Gildas the historian, who was also among the prophets,² but who, according to all general belief, lived some seven hundred years before him!

Whilst on the subject of these semi-legendary characters, a word must be given to that sinister being Lord Soulis of Hermitage, and to the less known Habby Ker of Holydean. Popular tradition describes the former as one who combined vast bodily strength with a cruel and oppressive nature, driving his servants like beasts of burden at their work, and leaguings with the Evil One for the accomplishment of his designs. The horror of his death was in proportion to the misdeeds of his life, for he is said to have been seized by a party of the king's followers, who had taken too literally some words spoken in haste by the sovereign, and by them boiled alive upon the Nine-stane Rig, in the neighbourhood of the castle. It is even added that the huge caldron used for this purpose was for long preserved at Skelfhill. As he went out from his castle for the last time, Soulis threw the keys behind him, over his left shoulder, thus consigning the building to the care of his familiar spirit, whom he desired to keep it until he should himself return. Leyden, who tells these stories, suggests, however, that they may owe their origin to the popular obloquy which the hero had incurred by taking part in a conspiracy against Bruce. The conspiracy was detected, and the conspirator's possessions, which seem to have included the whole of Liddesdale, were forfeited.³

Into the house of Holydean, near Bowden, there is built a stone, taken from a castle which once stood on the spot, on which are carved what are known as the Three Precepts of

¹ Waldegrave's "Prophesie" in 'Ancient Scottish Prophecies' (Bannatyne Club), p. 44.

² Fordun, book iii. chap. 22.

³ Leyden's Poetical Remains, p. 52.

Dame Esbel Ker, who flourished in 1530. These precepts are — FEIR GOD · FLE FROM SIN · MAK FOR THE LYFE EVERLESTING TO THE END. Notwithstanding the good words graven on it, the castle, at about the same period, served as the abode of Habby or Robert Ker, whose deeds of cruelty earned for him an evil notoriety in his day and generation, and whose spirit was for long afterwards a terror to superstitious persons of the neighbourhood. Near the house stood his “hanging tree”; and the adjoining deer-park, which now no longer exists, formed in older times the extremity of Ettrick Forest.

CHAPTER V.

BORDER LAND-NAMES—PROFESSOR VEITCH'S VIEWS—SURNAMEs; EARLY MENTION OF SOME, AND ORIGINS OF BORDER FAMILIES: SCOTT, DOUGLAS, KER, ARMSTRONG, ELLIOT—BY-NAMES—CASTLES: THE OLD AND NEW TYPE—PEELS: THEIR EVOLUTION—BURGHs—NARRATIVE OF EVENTS ON THE BORDERS—MALCOLM RESIGNS NORTHERN COUNTIES TO ENGLAND—WILLIAM THE LION: HIS CAPTURE; ENDEAVOURS TO RECOVER NORTHERN COUNTIES; RELATIONS WITH JOHN—ALEXANDER II.—REOPENING AND SETTLEMENT OF NORTHERN COUNTIES' QUESTION—COMMISSION TO DETERMINE BORDER LINE—FIRST BORDER LAWS—ALEXANDER III.—A "COUP D'ÉTAT" AT KELSO—THE "CONTRE-COUP"—FINDING OF AN ANCIENT CROSS AND URN AT PEEBLES—THE ROYAL FAMILY ON THE BORDERS—THE GHOST THAT DANCED AT JETHART.

THE abbey charters, from which we have quoted, prove that most of the local land-names known to us to-day were already in use, in very slightly differing forms, as far back as the twelfth century. In not a few instances the old form of a name is purer than the modern—as Lyllesclev, or cleve, for the unmeaning Lilliesleaf; Edenham for Ednam, and Calchou for Kelso—a name derived from the Anglo-Saxon *cealc*, chalk, and *how* or heugh, in allusion to the geological formation at the place now called the Chalkheugh. In some instances in the old charters, where boundaries are to be determined, we see an inadequate nomenclature helped out by reference to such locally conspicuous objects as "the old elm," "the white thorn," or "the green ditch." Then historical monuments, such as hill-forts and Roman roads, are also pressed into the service; whilst it is probable that some at least of those stand-

ing-stones which have puzzled antiquarians may have been originally erected as landmarks.

In the valley of Tweed most of the land-names are purely Anglo-Saxon, but a minority enable us to recover traces of other peoples also. Of these, the oldest—could the derivation which has been suggested for them be substantiated—would certainly be the names of the rivers Ale and Allan, which Mr Skene, basing his supposition on the frequent occurrence in Basque topography of the similar syllable *ll*, proposes to assign to that dimly-visionsed, dark-haired Iverian race, who preceded the Celts as inhabitants of these islands.¹ The great natural features of the country are just what we should expect to find bearing very ancient names, and it is therefore no surprise that the meaning of the name Tweed has baffled philologists. The earliest spellings of the word are Tuid in Bede's History, and Tede in the Pictish Chronicle, whence the name may probably be connected with that of the other great river of our district, Teviot,² locally pronounced Tee'ot. What would be more difficult to account for, did we not remember that the legions employed in the locality were mainly recruited from Gaul and Spain, would be the scarcity there of names traceable to a Roman origin. As it is, we have the name Chesters and the termination *chester*, a camp, to indicate the military character of the Roman occupation. Celtic place-names in the Border district are numerous, and have been divided by Professor Veitch into three classes—namely, Old Celtic, Gaelic, and Cymric. Of the last two, Gaelic forms are found to be rare and Cymric plentiful, whence is inferred a certain local continuity of the Cymric people. Among the old Celtic roots are *ard*, signifying high—identical with Orde, the name of a high-lying district near

¹ Sir H. Maxwell's *Scottish Land-Names*, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Stobo, and recurring in the Peeblesshire compounds of *urd*; and the very common *glen*, *dal* or *dale* (though this is also a Scandinavian word), *dun*, hill, *loch*, and *pol*, pool, as in Polmood. These and some other later words of Celtic origin would seem to have been adopted by the later Teutonic settlers in the district, and embodied in their language. Among the rare purely Gaelic place-words occur *drum*, a ridge—as in Drummelzier; *kin*, head, in Kingeldores; *knock* hill, in Knock Knowe. The Cymric forms include *caer*, a walled place; *lin*, a waterfall, or pool at the foot of one (Lyne, Linton); *pen*, a head, as in Penchrise; *cors*, a bog; *craig*, rock; *cairn*, heap; *ros*, moor; *alt*, cliff; *tor*, projecting rock (Torwoodlee); *man*, a place or district; and *tre*, a dwelling-place—all save the last two words specially serviceable in a hill country. The remaining majority of local land-names are referable to Teutonic sources—this designation being understood to include not only the Anglo-Saxon but also the Scandinavian element in our nomenclature, an element held by Professor Veitch to have been hitherto under-estimated.¹ He attests a large admixture of Scandinavian words in the vernacular of the Borders, pointing out amongst these, as denoting places of particular kinds, the words *dale*, *haugh*, a place of pasture; *gait*, when it means a road; *byre*, a cow-house; *myre*, a bog; *shiel*, a hovel; *fell* and *rig* in a hill country, and also possibly *dod*, signifying a hill, and *hope*, a sloping hollow between hills. From the frequent occurrence of these words in composition he is led to infer the existence on Tweedside of a larger Scandinavian population than has hitherto been supposed; whilst from their distribution he argues that this population was found in greatest strength in the higher and wilder parts of the Tweed valleys. In

¹ History and Poetry of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 57.

order to account for this, he supposes the Northmen to have spread northward from Cumberland and Dumfries—where traces of them are still more frequent—penetrating by the vales of Esk and Liddel to the watershed of the Cheviots and the heights about the head of Ettrick, and thence finding their way up Annandale, and passing into the vale of Yarrow and the district of the southern feeders of the Tweed.¹ And in support of this view it is stated that a marked physical resemblance to the Norse type has been observed among the inhabitants of these regions.

Last and most numerous of all are the land-names conferred by the Anglo-Saxon branch of the Teutonic family; and just as the Celtic land-names, when resolved into their component parts and traced to their origins, suggest visions of hill life, so do these call up pictures of the settlement of the valleys. Probably the paramount idea revealed by them is that of isolation—of a fencing off by each man of his own. In this connection, first among them are the *tuns*, met with, for example, in Robertson and Eddleston—the word *tun* signifying originally a hedge, then an enclosure, and hence a yard, farm, dwelling. On the Borders it is still used in this derived sense, the word “town” being there applied to farm-buildings. Then there are the *hames* or *hams*—such as Ednam, Oxnam, and Midlem, or Middleham—from *hame*, a covering, hence a house; the *wicks*, as in Hawick, Borthwick, Dawick—*wick* signifying a dwelling-place; the *worhs* or villages, and the *boroughs* or walled places, both of which are seen in the successive names of the town of Jedburgh. There is also *hall*—from *heal*, a stone—a house of stone, as in Hallrule; and *cote*, a clay cottage, as in Hoscote. Among words more directly applicable to the land, as distinct from dwellings, are

¹ History and Poetry of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 84.

ridding, a cleared woodland, *fold*, an enclosure made by felled trees, *croft*, enclosed cropped land, and *haigh*, a hedge, and hence hedged ground. Then among our local hill terms, the Anglo-Saxons have given us *law*, the commonest of all; *swire*, a dip or hollow on the top of a hill—as in the celebrated Reedswire, the passage from Roxburghshire into Reed Water; *cleuch*, a hollow between steep banks, and *heugh*; among woodland terms, *shaw*, and *dene*, a wooded hollow; and among terms relating to streams, *burn*, *water*, and *ford*. More might be added, but these, with their compounds, will suffice to show the predominance throughout the Border counties of land-names of Anglo-Saxon derivation.¹

From Border land-names we now turn to the closely allied subject of names of Border landowners—closely allied, for, by the usual practice, the name of the owner is derived from that of his land. This rule, however, does not apply to the pre-Norman period—the land under the Celts being held not by the individual, but by the tribe; whilst under the Anglo-Saxons we have instances—such as in Eddleston for Eadulf's-ton, Edgerston, probably for Ecgred's-ton, and Maxton for Maccus'-ton—of names given on a principle exactly the reverse of that of the Normans. It was not, however, until the twelfth century that surnames came into use in Scotland, and not until the thirteenth that they became at all general. At that period some of the Norman barons who came northward brought with them surnames which they had taken from their estates in Normandy, and it is to this class that the names of the great benefactors of the Border abbeys, as revealed by Church documents of the time, chiefly belong. Such names as De Morevil, De Vesci, De Vipont, De Normanvil, De Soulis, De Balliol, Avenel, Umfraville, Randolph,

¹ History and Poetry of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 63 *et seq.*

were then all-powerful on Tweedside, and it is a remarkable fact that to-day there is scarce one of them which still lingers there even in tradition. One or two may perhaps have been transformed, as De Vesci is said to have been transformed into Veitch; the rest have entirely passed away. Besides the above, there were other names assumed by Normans from lands granted to them in this country—as De Ridale or Riddel, De Haddon, De Witun or Whitton, De Molle—some of which have lasted longer than those brought from abroad. Still the fact remains that the names now most conspicuous upon the Border are not of Norman origin, whence it may be inferred that families belonging to the Anglo-Saxon or Celtic substratum of the population in the twelfth or thirteenth century have worn better than their superiors.

We may here devote a page or two to the origin or early mention of some of these names. Beginning with Scott, we find that pleasantly garrulous veteran, Satchells, relating how, towards the end of the tenth century, the first of the Border Scotts, expelled from Galloway in consequence of a riot, arrived at the keeper's house in Rankleburn, and there winding upon a horn, with his single companion, made the keeper conceive that they were "better keepers than he."

"In Ettrick Forest, Megget's head,
Meucra and Rankleburn-grain,¹
There were no keepers in the south
That could compare with them."

Soon afterwards the king, Kenneth III., came that way

¹ The word *grain*, signifying the branches of a valley or stream, is named by Professor Veitch as an instance of a "purely distinctive Scandinavian appellative." It appears that it is derived from the ancient Icelandic *grein*, a branch, to which there is no corresponding Anglo-Saxon word.

hunting. A buck was started, which, by taking advantage of the steep and boggy nature of the ground, distanced all but footmen and the hounds. At length, when it turned at bay before the latter, near the Water of Rankleburn, Scot, who was foremost in the chase, caught it by the horn, and casting it alive upon his back, brought it to the king, who rewarded his prowess by committing the forest and the deer in it to his charge:—

“ And for the buck thou stoutly brought
To us up that steep heugh,
Thy designation ever shall
Be John Scot of Bucks cleuch.”¹

This story is now classed with that which traces the origin of the Scottish nation to Scotta, daughter of one of the Pharaohs. But even in the present day—when perhaps the chief risk run by the historian is that of doubting too much—we may at least accept that part of the tale, warranted as it is by inherent probability, which traces the origin of the family to Galloway. The Scots came from the west. Maxwell gives the meaning of the word, written *scuite*, as “wanderer”;² whilst Innes³ supposes that it may have come to be applied as a surname to Scotsmen who had left their own country and wandered into England. Sir William Fraser⁴ contents himself with saying that the name is obviously derived from the nationality of those who bore it, and is certainly of high antiquity, but that it is difficult to determine at what time it became a family name. Uchtred *filius* Scot, who signed as a witness to David’s Inquest regarding the see of Glasgow about 1116, is probably the

¹ Satchells’ History, 3rd ed., p. 42 *et seq.*

² Land-Names, p. 20.

³ Concerning some Scottish Surnames, p. 15.

⁴ Scots of Buccleuch, vol. i., Introduction, p. xxxviii.

first member of the family known to history, and the fact that Uchtred is a Galloway name tends to strengthen the probability of a Galwegian origin. The earliest historical habitation of the leading branch of the family is not, however, at Buccleuch or Balcleuch, in Selkirkshire, but at Scotstoun in Kirkurd, in Peeblesshire, and their earliest recorded burials were in the Church of the Holy Cross at Peebles, erected in 1261. The first member of the family to be styled Lord of Buccleuch was Sir Walter Scott of Kirkurd, in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The service rendered in verse by Satchells to the "honourable name" of Scot was performed in prose for the house of Douglas by Hume of Godscroft. His story of the origin of the family is to the effect that in the reign of Solvathius, whom he dates 767, a certain noble, by lending valuable aid at a crucial moment, turned the tide of battle against an insurgent and would-be usurper. When the fight was over, the king, inquiring to whom he owed the day, was answered in Irish, "To yonder black-grey man." The warrior thereupon received large grants from his sovereign, and was thenceforth known by the name of Sholto Dhu-glas.¹ For this story the author claims the authority not only of tradition but of a manuscript "of great antiquity" as well; notwithstanding which, it may be dismissed as an essay in the school of Boece—the more readily that the form of words on which so much depends is said by Gaelic scholars to be impossible.² The fact is that the word was in use as a place-name before it came to be borne by a family. Its meaning is "dark water," from the Gaelic *dubh glas*, the exact equivalent of the Saxon "black burn," and it was first

¹ Godscroft's History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus, vol. i. p. 6, ed. 1743.

² Concerning some Scotch Surnames, p. 6.

adopted by holders of lands on the Douglas Water in south-west Lanarkshire. The Douglasses were thus in-comers in the Border, where the first historical mention of the name occurs between 1174 and 1199, when William of Douglas witnesses a charter in favour of the monks of Kelso.¹ The family rose into distinction with Wallace and Bruce in the War of Independence, and for a hundred and fifty years were practically all-powerful in Scotland.

The name of Ker is first heard of in Peeblesshire. In the reign of William the Lion, about the year 1200, steps were taken to fix the boundaries of Stobo, a property of the see of Glasgow, and among the signatures of witnesses to the deed in which these are recorded appears the name of Johannes Ker, the hunter, at Swynhope.² This signatory Professor Veitch takes to be a Briton, deriving his name from *caer*, a fort, and he further points out that Caersman, the place of the fort, still exists in Swinehope or Soonhope. Though thus apparently of the old native stock, the Kers seem to have been admitted to the privileges of the predominant race, for they rose into prominence side by side with their hereditary enemies the Scotts. The family of the present main representatives of the name was ennobled by James VI. in 1599, and raised to the Dukedom of Roxburghe rather more than a hundred years later, for services rendered in bringing about the Union.

Of the two great Liddesdale names, Armstrong and Elliot, neither is of remarkable antiquity on the Border. Armstrong, the Norman Fortinbras—an instance of a name assumed from a personal attribute—does not occur in connection with Liddesdale until 1376.³ But the clan soon made up for lost time,

¹ The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 9.

² Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis (Bannatyne Club), vol. i. p. 89.

³ History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, &c., by R. B. Armstrong, vol. i. p. 177.

for after this they increased so fast that during the sixteenth century, in the plain words of their synonymous historian, "they were compelled to seize on any waste lands in the neighbourhood," and thus occupied not only a large portion of the Debatable Land, but also spread into Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale, and Annandale. The name of Elliot can be traced back in Liddesdale no further than to the end of the fifteenth century,¹ whence perhaps has arisen the tradition that the clan was originally seated at the village of Ellet, in Forfarshire, and was transplanted thence by the Earl of Angus, about the time of James I., with a view to strengthening the Douglas influence on the Border. Mr George Elliot has examined judicially the evidence on which this story rests, and finding that it too depends on a supposed identity of the name of the family with that of the village, which identity does not exist—the former being anciently written Elwald, Elwood, and Elliot, the latter Alith and Alycht—concludes to reject it. The remarks of the same writer upon the subsequent career of the clan, until its history as such may be said to end with the pacification of the Borders under James VI., are also to the point, and worth quoting for their historic fairness of view. During the sixteenth century the Elliots played a prominent part in Border history. "Neither more nor less lawless than their neighbours on both sides, they led the life characteristic of most natives of border lands, where plundering the enemy is held an honourable calling. In the political strifes, whether internal or external, from which Scotland was seldom free, their aid was eagerly sought by the contending parties, and though not always particular as to which side they took, they had the name of being more hostile to the English than any other

¹ The Border Elliots and the Family of Minto, by the Hon. G. F. S. Elliot, p. 3.

clan. . . . And generally, if sharing the evil reputation which attached to the Borderers in the eyes of more peaceful citizens, they showed at least that they belonged to a race endowed with courage, determination, and endurance."¹ The same writer also bears witness to the Scandinavian characteristics of these hill-men noted above.

Though surnames came into general use, as has been said, during the thirteenth century, the practice of designating by "by-names" lingered on the Borders until a much later date. Thus in a list of the Border clans printed in 1603, we read, after the name of the Laird of Mangerton, "the Laird's Jok," "Christie o' the Syde," and so on.² Though the chronology does not quite tally, the Laird's Jock was probably the hero of Scott's fine tale, and in the interesting map, dated 1590, of the "Opposite Border of Scotland to the West Marches of England,"³ his land is marked with that name. The calling of local lairds by the names of their estates has not yet quite died out upon the Borders, whilst among the fishing and semi-gipsy populations the by-name is still the mode of designation in general use. If we may trust the Ettrick Shepherd, clans as well as individuals had their nicknames. He cites the rough-riding Riddels, red-wud Rutherfords, touzy Turnbulls, copper-nosed Kers, doughty Douglasses, hurkle-backit (crook-backed) Hendersons, hard-rackle⁴ Homes, dorty Dunbars, proud Pringles, and strait-laced Somervilles. But the Shepherd's luxuriant fancy makes us suspicious of his guidance in matters historical.

Beside the surname, an appurtenance of feudalism which

¹ The Border Elliots and the Family of Minto, pp. 208, 209.

² Armstrong's History of Liddesdale, pp. 78, 79, preserves a long list of such names.

³ Preserved in the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 18, D 3, and reproduced in the 'Border Elliots,' to face p. 147.

⁴ *Rackle, raucle*, fearless, stout.

became naturalised in Britain at about this time was the castle. In the words of the English Chronicle, the Normans "wrought castles throughout the land." Of these, on the other side the Border, the Conqueror's keep at Newcastle, and that of the oppressor Flambard at Norham, were doubtless designed to check incursions on the part of the Scots; whilst Wark,¹ Alnwick, and Carlisle, which had opened their gates to David on the occasion of his march southward to support the claims of his niece, as well as Bamborough, which had withstood him, had also probably castles of the newer type. In the reign of William the Lion, King John endeavoured to build a castle at Tweedmouth, in order to strike at the shipping-trade of Scotland through its centre at Berwick; but this was prevented by the Scots. Norman innovations generally took longer to reach Scotland, but we know that the chief abodes of royalty from the time of David I. to the death of Alexander III. were the castles of Roxburgh, Peebles, and Traquair, whence are dated many of the most ancient and important of State papers.

Roxburgh has been already spoken of. In a '*Brevis Descriptio Regni Scotie*,' dated about 1296, it and Jedburgh are the castles of Teviotdale.² The Castle of Peebles, which must not be confounded with that of Neidpath, and of which no traces remain, occupied a strong position at the highest point of the peninsula dividing Tweed and Eddleston, at the head of the present High Street, and a little behind where the parish church now stands. It seems to have been dismantled by Bruce lest it should be turned to the purposes of the enemy,

¹ Wark on Tweed, as is shown by Richard of Hexham, who calls it "*Carrum quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur*."—*De Bello Standardii*, A.D. 1136.

² Printed in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. iv. p. 33. Teviotdale is there said to measure thirty "*leucas*," or leagues, in length, and twenty in breadth. A *leuca* was 1500 paces.

and it is only after this event that the name is formally applied to Neidpath.¹ Of the ancient Castle of Traquair, a remnant now forms the northern portion of that quaint and romantic mansion which is generally considered to be the oldest inhabited dwelling in Scotland. Of David's castle at Jedburgh, which commanded the entrance to the burgh at the "town-head," as little trace now remains as of that of Peebles; whilst of his Castle of Selkirk the very site is now a matter of uncertainty, though Mr Craig-Brown shows good reasons for placing it on the Peel Hill.² Of course the character of these castles cannot now be determined, and from the total and comparatively early disappearance of those of Peebles and Selkirk, it may perhaps be argued that they conformed to the older type, being formed of wood and wattles, and rudely fortified with earthworks.

It was a part of the policy of David and his successors to discourage the pastoral and migratory habits which they found in Scotland, and to lead the attention of the nobles and people to a settled life and to agriculture, and hence we may be sure that the royal castles were not the only ones now springing up throughout the Border country. At the same time, we must be on our guard against exaggerating the progress made in this direction. The process of supersession of the older by the newer type of castle was a gradual one, and if, as is thought, the early "mote"—of which our district shows an example at Hawick—was in use in England at least as late as the time of the Conquest, it is probable that in Scotland it lingered still later. Thus in thinking of the castles of the period, it is desirable to keep the process of their evolution in view. Of the Border castles which now remain as ruins, some may no doubt have lost their outer walls, but, excepting Rox-

¹ Veitch's *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, vol. i. p. 291 *et seq.*

² *History of Selkirkshire*, vol. ii. p. 10.

burgh, there is no ground for supposing that any of them were on what, judged by the English standard, would be considered a large scale. Hermitage, the best preserved of them—a building of sufficient importance to be judged a main cause of war¹—is believed by Hill Burton to be “about the oldest baronial building in Scotland,” and dates from the reign of Alexander II.

The most distinctive form of Border fortress was, however, not the castle, but the “peel,” of which specimens, in more or less ruinous condition, stud the district to this day. These specimens represent, however, its later form, which consisted of a strong compact tower—a reduced copy of the Norman keep—protected by a wooden palisade, which was known as the “barmkyn,” and corresponded to the “fortified enclosure.” The purpose of the peel was to afford a place of safety in times of disturbance, not only for the inhabitants of a district, but for their cattle and goods as well; and as in the case of the castle, its later form had been arrived at through intermediate stages. In a monograph devoted to the subject,² Mr George Neilson has shown how, beginning as a mere moated and palisaded enclosure, it came at a later time to be strengthened and rendered incombustible by being daubed with clay, and having earth and turves piled round it—a form to which the author assigns a date as late as the fourteenth century. This discovery of the evolution of the building enables him to derive the word “peel”—heretofore a puzzle to antiquaries—from the French *pel*, Latin *palus*, a stake. Records of the building of peels of the early type go back, as he tells us, to the time of Edward I., at which period one

¹ See p. 130 *infra*.

² Peel : its Meaning and Derivation. An Enquiry into the Early History of the Term now applied to many Border Towers, by George Neilson, F.S.A. Scot.

amongst several was constructed at Selkirk, probably on the site of the castle, which may have been even at that time already demolished.

Under a king so nobly distinguished as David I. for encouragement of all that made towards civilisation, so important an agency as the towns had naturally not been neglected. But if David is to be regarded as the creator of their free population,¹ it is perhaps to the reign of the younger of his grandsons that their definite incorporation must be specially referred. The germ of municipal self-government was, indeed, of much more ancient origin, so that the very charters of erection and incorporation reveal the existence of bodies already "enjoying some definite constitution or government"² which had survived from the Roman period. But it is not until the thirteenth century that we meet with such an institution as the Court or Parliament of the Four Burghs — of which Roxburgh was one³ — presided over by the chamberlain of the kingdom,⁴ possessing a code of laws of its own, and sitting for the purposes of regulating trade and burgh affairs, and of advising the Crown officer in burgh cases appealed from his court. Roxburgh seems to have been one of those burghs which, springing up round a royal castle, had in time been taken under the royal protection, and had its rights recognised and defined by a charter. Kelso, Jedburgh, and Selkirk are, on the other hand, examples of burghs grown up round the nucleus of the monasteries.

It is regrettable that the early charters of the Border

¹ Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. i. pp. 292, 293.

² Innes's *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 150.

³ The others were Edinburgh, Berwick, and Stirling.

⁴ The chamberlain was at once the collector and dispenser of the Crown revenues. Instituted by David I., he remained during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the most important of the Crown officers.

burghs, unlike those of the Border abbeys, have not been preserved, and that thus we are deprived of documentary evidence regarding the creation and early history of the burghs. Some light is cast on the loss of these records in the earliest charter preserved at Selkirk, where, in consideration of their destruction by "assaults of war, pestilence, fire,"¹ and of the consequent cessation of the usages of trade among the burgesses—"to the great hurt of them and of the commonweal," and to the prejudice of the king in the matter of customs—James V., in 1535, infiefts the burgh anew to the burgesses and community. This he does, to quote the charter, "in free burgh, with the commons and possessions belonging to the same, with power of electing bailies, of holding a fair annually on St Lawrence Day and during the octave thereof, with court-house, prison, power of holding burgh courts, and with liberty to buy and sell wine, wax, ale, spices, broad and narrow woollen and linen, and other merchandise whatsoever, and of having bakers, brewers, vendors of fish and flesh, as freely and in the same manner as any other burgh within the kingdom: To hold of the Crown in fee and heritage and free burgage for ever, for the payment of the burgh fermes and other duties, use and wont as in times past."²

In default of particular information respecting the early history of the Border burghs, we are compelled to fall back on such as is of a general character. From this we may infer that some such charter as that quoted above

¹ Probably owing to similar causes, a charter known to have been granted by Bruce to Peebles, which included permission to hold a fair, is numbered among missing State records (*Chambers's History of Peebles*, p. 66). Thus, when that town is established as a royal burgh by David II., we have to be content with the information that its ancient privileges and possessions are confirmed (*ibid.*, p. 78).

² *Craig-Brown's History of Selkirkshire*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39.

formed the basis of the liberties of each one of them. Originally, in the case of a royal burgh, each burgher would pay a fixed yearly rent to the king's officer, who also collected the fines paid in the burghal courts, and the custom-dues which were paid on nearly all articles brought to market. Later on these rents, fines, and dues were farmed to leaseholders, known as *prepositi* (provosts) or *ballivi* (bailies), who were responsible for them to the Crown. In 1327 Roxburgh paid £20 and Peebles £23, 16s. 8d.,¹ which rents were equalised in 1332, and raised to £26, 13s. 4d. Besides the sources of revenue enumerated above, forests, fisheries, and rabbit-warrens formed valuable possessions of different burghs; whilst each burgh also had its mill, the receipts of which were generally included in the rents farmed by the provosts, who on their part were expected to keep the mill in repair.

We may also presume that these towns, like others of the period, were divided into four wards, each of which was presided over by a bailie, and that they elected a provost annually. The burghers were thus privileged to be judged by magistrates of their own choosing, whilst, on the other hand, they incurred obligations of military defence, and of taking their turn in keeping watch and ward—duties which they appear to have discharged in a most effectual manner. In each of the Border burghs, says Professor Veitch, the “jowing” of the town bell would at any moment summon to the town cross five hundred men-at-arms, bound together by a sense of common interest in the defence of their property.²

Their trade, which was principally in cloth, was strictly protected, the nobles being prohibited from taking part in

¹ Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 67, 71.

² History and Poetry of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 264.

it; whilst it was also illegal for the neighbouring countrymen to sell the produce of their fields or flocks to any but a burgess. The social status of the burgess was good, though it is true that he does not seem to have sat in the Assembly of the country before 1326, when the principle of representation accompanying taxation was recognised, perhaps for an isolated occasion, by his presence. Still his trade was looked up to, and he seems to have prided himself on becoming the benefactor of the local religious establishments. With the baronage he was on friendly terms, and his assimilation into their class was not unknown. Sometimes, also, a feudal lord, instead of the representative of a town, would become the farmer of its rents, as did Thomas of Charteris in the case of Roxburgh from 1329 to 1331, and also in that of Selkirk. In thinking of the burgesses of this time, however, it is necessary to remember that they were in most cases men of alien birth — the majority being probably Flemings, who had first brought their industry and trading habits to the English market, and afterwards, on the banishment of foreigners by Henry II., had betaken themselves northward.¹

Cosmo Innes has spoken in terms of enthusiastic praise of the part contributed by these townsmen in forming the national character and winning the free institutions of the country; and the same historian, though not usually much addicted to picturesqueness of detail, has left a landscape of a Scottish town of the thirteenth century which we may here do well to quote.

After speaking of the exports of wool, hides, and salmon, he tells us that "our fancy burgh" consists but of one straggling street. This conducts us to the ditch and drawbridge of a turreted castle, which the king has built for the protection of

¹ Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. i. p. 309.

his burgesses, whom he greatly cherishes. "The houses of the burghers are low, but built of stone, with tall gables to the street, thatched and warm. Half-way up the street, and with a little space around it, stands the small squat church which has been lately built, of stone, after the new fashion. Not far from the church is the town hall, where the burghers meet to take counsel; the cross, for royal and burghal solemnities; the tron, or weigh-house; the tolbooth, where toll and custom dues are taken; the jail and stocks, for repressing the contumacious rather than for punishment, which was summary. Beside the river stand mills of more than one kind, some for corn, and others for dressing cloths and skins, driven by the stream by means of a simple machinery." Upon this model we are at liberty to reconstruct for ourselves the Border burghs of the period.

Having now touched on a few points which may serve to illustrate life on the Borders during that most important period which is comprised by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it remains to bring the narrative of events up to the end of that time; and that narrative, in so far as it concerns ourselves, is the history of the struggle for the northern counties of England.

At the date of David's death the great northern fiefs which he claimed in right of his wife, Matilda, daughter of Earl Waltheof of Northumberland, had been, as it seemed, securely annexed to the private property of the Scottish crown. The sphere of David's influence, if not of his actual dominion, had extended as far as Skipton in Yorkshire; and had the internal circumstances of the two kingdoms remained relatively what they were, there is little doubt that not the Tweed but the Tyne, or even the Tees, would have formed henceforth the southern boundary of Scotland. But with the accession to the English throne of a new and unscrupulous sovereign,

having no ground to fear that his title would be disputed, came a demand for the restitution of the northern fiefs—a demand which, though made in defiance of old obligations, the young Scottish king, Malcolm IV., found himself not strong enough to resist. Thus the three northern counties, with the castles of Carlisle, Bamborough, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, were given up to the English. Malcolm died at the age of four-and-twenty, but the recollection of the lost fiefs long continued to rankle in the minds of his successors, and when in 1173 William the Lion received overtures from the rebellious eldest son of Henry II., a bribe of Northumberland and Cumberland easily induced him to aid the revolt of that prince. He crossed the Border with a great army,¹ and having successively and fruitlessly invested Wark and Carlisle, had extended his depredations into Yorkshire, when he found himself compelled to retreat before the forces of the elder Henry, under De Lucy and De Bohun, who proceeded to carry the war into Scotland. Their advance was in its turn checked by tidings of the landing on the English coast of an army of Flemings, commanded by the Earl of Leicester, a partisan of the younger Henry. A truce was obtained, which allowed the English army to withdraw to face the new danger, and this truce was afterwards extended, at a meeting held at Redden between the Scottish king and the Bishop of Durham, until Easter 1174, in consideration of which the Northumbrian barons paid William 300 marks.

When the time came for resuming hostilities, William again crossed the Border. But after capturing Appleby and Brough, and the castles of Liddel Moat, Warkworth, and Harbottle, and investing Prudhoe and Carlisle, he found it expedient to

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, 1173. It is noticeable that the Chronicle severely condemns the course taken by the Scottish king.

² Ridpath, p. 96, note.

fall back before the Yorkshire barons. When drawing near the Border once more, he left the command of his army to lieutenants, and was on his way home with a small escort when he was surprised and taken prisoner by a party of the enemy, who had overtaken him by a forced march, and whose approach had been covered by a fog. At the time of the surprise he was engaging in a tilting-match with his friends, in a meadow near Alnwick Castle, and was therefore entirely unprepared ; but the triumph of valour over discretion in his impetuous nature drove him to charge the enemy—an act of rashness for which his kingdom and its Estates were required to pay the penalty of fifteen years' servitude.

The capture of the king was the signal for the dispersal of the Scottish troops, and when his ransom came to be arranged, the cession of five castles, of which Roxburgh and Jedburgh were two, was demanded as a guarantee that its conditions would be observed. Of these, however, only the former seems actually to have changed hands—receiving an English garrison, but being maintained at the Scottish king's expense. In 1188 William offered to pay 4000 silver marks for its restitution, together with that of the Castle of Berwick ; but Henry, who at the time was raising funds for a crusade, demanded the tenths of the kingdom. William was prepared to comply with this demand, but his nobles and clergy, assembled at Birgham to meet Henry's ambassadors, scouted the idea, and thus it was not until the independence of Scotland was restored by Cœur de Lion, in circumstances generally known, that the castles were given back.

The tenacity of purpose with which the Scottish king pursued the recovery of his lost patrimony, as represented by the northern counties, is shown by the fact that during the brief reign of Richard I. they were three times made the subject of international negotiation. On the second of these occasions,

Richard was willing to grant the earldoms though not the castles—to yield, that is, “the pecuniary but not the political advantages” of the fief. But this proposal did not satisfy William. Then, on the death of the lion-hearted king, the disputed title of his successor afforded an opportunity of reviving old demands which the Scottish claimant eagerly embraced, threatening if necessary to enforce them with the sword. John met him, characteristically, with temporising measures, and circumstances combining in John’s favour, William’s opportunity was allowed to lapse. And though the matter was again brought forward at the State meeting of the two kings at Lincoln, its settlement was yet again, and so far as we know finally, postponed.

John’s attempt to build a castle at Tweedmouth has been mentioned already. More than once renewed, and as often frustrated, it came near to provoke a rupture between him and William, though for the time things went no further than an exchange of high words, which took place at a meeting at Norham in 1204. Five years later, when other causes had conspired with his dissatisfaction at the frustration of his castle scheme, John marched northward with an army, summoning William, who, in expectation of his advance, had taken up a strong position near Roxburgh, to meet him at Newcastle. The illness of the Scottish king prevented a settlement at that time of the matters in dispute, and when he was well again William sent a defiant message to his aggressor. Bad health and anxiety had, however, tamed his fiery spirit, so that when news of John’s advance reached him at Traquair, he had already yielded to second thoughts and was glad to make a treaty, among the conditions of which he undertook to pay 15,000 marks for his fiefs and privileges, John on his part agreeing that the proposed castle at Tweedmouth should not be built. Then,

in 1210, William's son, Alexander, did homage at Alnwick for all the fiefs held by his father of the English Crown; and two years later, after the renewal of an insurrection in the northern part of his kingdom, William, again meeting John at Norham, was fain still further to depart from his original course of conduct by making yet closer alliance with him.

The object which had lain so near to William's heart, and had cost him so much, was, however, not lost sight of by his son, so that in 1215, when the English barons levied war upon their king, a bribe of the northern counties induced Alexander to espouse their cause. He accordingly crossed the Border, and on the 19th October laid siege to Norham Castle.¹ The siege lasted forty days, and notwithstanding that the entire force of the Scottish army was brought to bear on it, proved unsuccessful. Whilst it was in progress, the king received at Felton the homage of the Northumbrian barons, and by the presentation of a white wand at the hand of his brother-in-law, Eustace de Vesci, was formally put in possession of the three northern counties. In the beginning of the next year the approach of John with a formidable army drove the barons of Yorkshire to seek the aid of Alexander, to whom they did homage in the chapter-house of Melrose. Meantime the English king was sweeping onward, vowing vengeance for his outraged authority, so that in the six days between January 11 and January 16 he burnt the towns of Wark, Alnwick, Mitford, Morpeth, and Roxburgh, besides many villages. His army was reinforced by ruthless mercenary Riders from Flanders and Brabant, and he is even said to have brought professional torturers, of the Jewish race, in his train.² Certainly

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, fol. 31.

² "Magistros malicie" (*Chronica de Mailros*, fol. 31 b).

he practised diabolical cruelties, hanging up men and women by the hands and feet, and putting them to other torments; whilst he showed his own personal malevolence by each morning firing with his own hand the house in which he had rested the night before. In this manner did he threaten to "bolt the little red fox from his lair."¹

Fear of famine, however, compelled him to withdraw without coming to a collision; whereupon Alexander retaliated by devastating Cumberland, subsequently capturing Carlisle town. Afterwards, in conjunction with the barons of the Charter, he marched through the length and breadth of England to Dover, to do homage to the French prince Louis, as suzerain of his English fiefs, with whom and the insurgent barons he allied himself closely, his title to the northern counties being recognised by them.² On the way home he took the Castle of Carlisle, which had held out when the town was taken,³ and destroyed the castle at Tweedmouth, which seems to have been rebuilt by John on the occasion of his recent expedition into Scotland. In 1217, in pursuance of his engagements with Louis, he laid siege to Mitford Castle, but in the uncertain state of parties at the time did not prosecute the siege. A threat of retaliation by the wardens of the English marches, who had been in John's interest, led him, however, again to raise an army for the defence of his southern frontier. But he had not advanced beyond Jedburgh when he heard of the peace between Louis and Henry III., a clause in which had been made to include himself, subject to his restoring his conquests made in the late war. Carlisle was accordingly given

¹ "Sic, sic fugabimus vulpeculam rubeam de latibulis suis" (Matthew Paris, vol. ii. p. 172, Rolls Series).

² Ridpath, p. 125.

³ Ibid., p. 124, note.

up, and peace was made, Alexander doing homage in the usual manner, and receiving investiture of his English fiefs.

By the terms of William's treaty with John, made at Norham in 1212, it had been arranged that suitable husbands should be provided for the Scottish princesses—sisters of the present king—who had then been committed to English keeping; and as this had not yet been done, though the stipulated period of six years had expired, Alexander laid the case before the Pope. The result was a conference held at Norham between Alexander, Pandulf the papal legate, and a representative of the King of England, which ultimately led not only to the marriage of the princesses, but to that of Alexander himself with Henry's sister Joanna. Among the lands settled by him on his queen on that occasion were those of Jedworth and Lessudden, with their dependencies.

The husband chosen for the Princess Margaret was Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justiciary of England, and as long as he remained all-powerful, relations between the two countries continued friendly. But when he had been dismissed from office, and his place taken by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, who had been John's chief adviser, this state of matters underwent a change. The see of York had never ceased to hanker after supremacy over the Scottish Church, and in 1233 the archbishop of the time thought fit to revive the controversy on that subject by the advance of certain claims. Appeal to Rome produced a letter in which the Pope, with whom Henry was a favourite, pressed upon Alexander the English claims to superiority, political as well as ecclesiastical. The Scottish king had hitherto shown himself peacefully disposed towards England, having refrained from turning its internal dissensions to his own advantage. But in self-defence he now met the English demands by a revival of his old claims to the northern counties. It may be re-

membered that the present position of that disputed matter was as follows: In the time of John, William the Lion had been understood to waive his claims, on condition of the marriage of one of his daughters with the prince who was now Henry III. But this condition had not been carried out; and though during the civil war Alexander's title had been recognised by Louis and the revolted barons, it had not been ratified by the present king. The time was now come when this vexed question, so long held in suspense and so frequently revived, was to be at last disposed of. After a conference at Newcastle in 1236, it was agreed at a council held at York in the following year that, in consideration of receiving a grant of lands,—afterwards specified as those of Penrith and Tynedale,—the King of Scotland should finally renounce his claims to the three counties. It was further provided that the lands in question should be held feudally, and not “in property”—the condition of tenure of the Penrith fiefs being the delivery of a falcon yearly, on the Feast of the Assumption, to the Constable of Carlisle Castle. Tynedale was held simply by homage, and carried with it rights of administering justice. From his acceptance of such terms it seems evident that Alexander was weary of the dispute, and had lost expectation of securing a better bargain. About two years later, being now a widower, he married at Roxburgh Mary de Couci, daughter of a French nobleman, who at the same place in 1241 gave birth to a son, afterwards Alexander III.

Once again during this reign relations between England and Scotland became strained, a rupture being barely avoided. Before this, however, Henry had fulfilled his part of the Treaty of York by handing over the lands bargained for, and had even shown his confidence in Alexander by intrusting the English marches to his care during his own absence

on a military expedition against France. This looked fair enough; and the threatened outbreak of hostilities, in fact, owed its origin to a private feud, in which Walter Bisset, a powerful Scottish baron, had murdered, or caused to be murdered, Patrick of Galloway, Earl of Atholl. The reprisals which followed drove Bisset to the English Court, where, possessing himself of Henry's ear, he artfully poisoned the king's mind against Alexander. The ground of offence assigned by Fordun¹ is the building of Hermitage Castle by the Scots, on the marches between England and Scotland; but this, as we know, was not the only one. The harbouring of fugitives from justice was also alleged, and Bisset further contrived to make Henry believe that in forfeiting a baron — to wit, himself — without consent of his feudal superior, Alexander had overstept his rights. The upshot was the concentration of the English forces upon Newcastle-on-Tyne, whilst on his part Alexander assembled his army on Caddonlee, at the junction of Caddon and Tweed, in Selkirkshire. Matthew Paris describes the Scottish force as numbering 100,000 foot and 1000 horse, well mounted upon native horses, the knights well protected by armour, and the whole animated by a spirit of patriotism and loyalty to their upright and pious king.² With this army Alexander crossed the Border, and intrenched himself at Ponteland, within a short distance of the enemy. He had reason to expect the support of the barons of Northumberland, and all seemed ready for the fray, when, by the mediation of the Archbishop of York and of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Henry's brother, a contest was happily averted. By the ensuing Treaty of Newcastle, the two kings bound themselves never to wage war against each other except in self-defence. Five years after this, in 1249,

¹ Annals, xlv.

² English History, Giles's translation, vol. ii. p. 24.

Alexander, dying on the island of Kerrera, was laid to rest with regal honours in the Abbey of Melrose, which he had chosen as his burial-place.¹

Two transactions affecting the Borders remain to be noticed under this reign. These were, first, an attempt to fix the Border line, and, later, a conference having for its object to enunciate and enforce the Border laws. In 1222 there was appointed a joint commission, consisting of six representatives of either kingdom, whose business was to mark off the limits of the two countries, proceeding, as is noticeable, on the lines of ascertaining their ancient boundaries. The commissioners were on the English side certain knights of Northumberland, and on the Scots side the Justiciary of Lothian, the Earl of Dunbar, and others. Observing the due courtesies on meeting, and beginning at Carham, they were to proceed to Howdean, near Jedburgh; but, failing to agree, they were reappointed, and began their work again at Reddenburn, in the parish of Sprouston, practically the same place as before. Thence the English commissioners traced to White Law, lying to the south-east of Yetholm, but here the Scots again differed from them, and after a protest on the part of the English, the attempt to arrive at a decision was given up. From the existence after this of the tract of country known as the Debatable Land, it would seem that the labours of the commission were not renewed. But in touching White Law, the Border line as at present marked in Ordnance Survey maps bears out the English commissioners of 1222.

The first code of Border laws—as drawn up by a committee composed of eleven Northumbrian and as many Scots knights, presided over by the sheriffs of Northumberland, Roxburgh, and Berwick, and assembled on the Borders some three months before the death of Alexander II.—may be studied

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, fol. 54 b.

in the 'Leges Marchiarum' of William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle, printed in 1705. The names of the English knights there given are Robert de Clifford, Robert son of Ralph, Robert Malesante, Robert de Ulfester, William de Burnvile, William de Scremeston, William de Herington, Robert de Glendale, Sampson de Coupland, William de Cookperte, and Henry son of Godfrey, also called Henry Jafreson, of Porseweek. Those of the Scottish are Adam de Earth, Ralph de Boukle, William de Northinton, Robert Bernham, the Mayor of Berwick, Adam de Norham, Henry son of Walden, Henry de Brade, Richard Holkerton, Robert de Durham, Aymer de Emsley, and Adam de Newbigginn. Their enactments, of which some are extremely curious, consist of thirteen articles, the subjects principally dealt with being judicial trials, the recovery of debts and stolen property, and the surrender of fugitive bondsmen.

In the first place, it is provided that no Scottish subject, charged with homicide or any other crime committed in England, shall be summoned to answer for it anywhere but on the marches between the two kingdoms. If the accused dwelt above the river Rede, he was to appear at Ridingburn; if in Redesdale or Coquetdale, at Campaspeth, the precise locality of which cannot, I believe, now be determined. Excepting the kings of the two countries and the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, all men dwelling "between Totnes and Caithness" were liable to be called to the marches to decide their differences by combat or trial. With the same exceptions, to which are added the king's heirs, all claimants in international claims are bound to give their oaths in person. In the case of claims against the sovereigns, the King of England might be represented by his standard-bearer or the Constable of his army, the King of Scotland by the prior of the sanctuary of Wedale. In a quarrel touching life or limb, a deputy might be sent, but

only with the consent of the opposite party ; and failing this consent, if the principal did not appear in person to give his oath, his cause was lost for ever. The Seventh Clause is a curious one. It provides that in case the defendant in a plea affecting life or limb should die whilst awaiting trial, his body is to be carried to the marches at the time appointed for the trial, because no man can be essoigned, or excused for non-appearance, by death.

One whose property had been stolen and carried over the Border might recover it by oath, of himself and six others, made in the court of the lord on whose ground the stolen article was found. But in the event of the person in whose possession it was found claiming it as his own, the case was to be determined on the marches. The Eleventh Clause is extremely puzzling. It seems to provide that in a case of alleged theft of an animal, if there was a desire to avoid a trial, the accused might bring the horse, or pig, or cow to the Tweed or Esk, where either formed the boundary of the kingdoms, and drive it into the water. Then, if it sank before reaching mid-stream, the accused paid forfeit ; whilst the inference of one writer is that if it swam across it went to the claimant, but if it returned it remained with the possessor.¹

A bondsman fleeing from one country to the other might be recaptured and brought back, on the oath of the pursuer, if pursued within forty days of the time of his crossing the marches. But if not pursued within that time, he could not be recovered without a warrant from the king to whose kingdom he had fled. A malefactor who had crossed the Border, passing from one district to another and desiring protection, might obtain it from the sheriff of the locality,

¹ The Border Law, by Francis Watt, in the 'New Review,' No. 94, New Series.

and, failing him, by ringing the bells of the first church he came to, he might remain at peace there until the protection of the sheriff could be obtained. Finally, the magistrates of both kingdoms, within and without burghs, had power to distrain in order to enforce observation of these enactments. The Code was repeatedly revised—as in 1449, 1464, 1533, 1549, 1553, 1563, 1596—until, at the Union of the Crowns, it ceased to be required.

It will be remembered that the opening years of Alexander III.'s reign were spent in one of those contests for power, as represented by the custody of a child-king, which were destined to be repeated in Scottish history—a contest which in this case was brought to a climax by a bloodless revolution, or *coup-d'état*, enacted at Kelso on the Feast of the Assumption, 1255.¹ We may remind the reader that the chiefs of that party in the State which was favourable to the English influence—a party mainly recruited in the southern districts—were Alan the Durward and the Earl of Dunbar, of whom the former, during a period of disgrace spent in England, had gained considerable ascendancy over King Henry. Thus when, on his return to Scotland, Durward had by ruse obtained possession of his sovereign's person, his first step was to summon the English king to the Borders. Henry and his queen came to Wark, where the Scottish king and queen, their young daughter and son-in-law, visited them from Roxburgh—whither for greater safety Durward had conveyed them—the little queen, who had not been very happy since her marriage, remaining with her mother, who was unwell. After this Henry crossed the Border, was received with joy by Alexander,

¹ August 15. So says the Melrose Chronicle, fol. 56 b. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 567, ed. 1704, the deed is dated "apud Sproriston," 20th September.

and escorted by a great procession to Kelso, where he was entertained to a royal banquet. A conference was held in Kelso Abbey, which resulted in a sweeping change in the regency of the country, the party of Menteith, which was in power, being to a man set aside, and that of Durward put in its place. The deed embodying this change was signed by Henry at Sprouston, and by Alexander at Roxburgh. This revolution, tending, as of course it did, greatly to strengthen the English influence in the State, was brought about in direct opposition to the will of the country. Wyntoun says of it that—

“Thare wes made swyilk ordynans
That wes gret grefe and displeans
Till off Scotland the three Statis,
Burges, barownys, and prelatys.”¹

And in thus playing into the hands of so shiftý a monarch as Henry III., and one who had recently betrayed a hereditary jealousy of Scottish freedom, Durward and his party had, from motives which were largely selfish, exposed their country to a great peril. Their conduct is but partially palliated by the fact that, both at Kelso and again a fortnight later, when the country had had time to become alarmed, and when Henry had reached Newcastle on his return journey, they obtained from him written promises that their king's independence should be respected.

But the triumph of the successful party was not for long. Their ascendancy did not pass unchallenged; discussions ensued; and when Alexander returned, shortly afterwards, from a visit to his father-in-law, Henry judged it expedient to send with him an emissary having powers to raise the North of England for the restoration of order. Disorder, nevertheless, continued, till at length the dominant party

¹ Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, fol. 186 b.

having incurred the censure of the Pope, Menteith, profiting by the circumstance, contrived in his turn to seize the king and carry him to Roxburgh. The outwitted regents now had recourse to Henry, who in response to their entreaty sent envoys to Scotland. They were received at Melrose, and cited to a meeting at Jedburgh next day. But Menteith had every reason to suspect that the real object of the mission was the recapture of the king and his deportation to England,¹ a suspicion which was not allayed by tidings of the arrival of Durward's party with a considerable force at Norham. It was in view of these facts that Jedburgh had been fixed as the meeting-place, for a large part of the Scottish army was already mustered in the neighbouring forest, where it could be reinforced rapidly, and without observation. In order to give time for this, the conference was made to last three weeks, at the end of which the envoys could see for themselves that their stratagem must prove abortive. An amicable arrangement was therefore consented to, by the terms of which four of the leaders of either party were appointed, together with the queen-mother and her husband, to assist Alexander in ruling his kingdom. Thus ended a dramatic Border episode, in which two ambitious factions had alternately turned the tables on each other.

After this the scene of events shifts from the Borders. Fordun, indeed, turns aside from the main current of history to chronicle the finding at Peebles, in May 1261, of an ancient cross, of origin unknown, but believed to be connected with the Roman persecution of Christians in Britain. Hard by there was also discovered a stone urn, containing remains of a dismembered human body, and inscribed as the tomb of the Bishop St Nicholas. Miracles came to

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, 1258, fol. 58.

be performed upon the spot, out of respect for which the king, by advice of the Bishop of Glasgow, had a church erected there.¹ Meantime domestic occurrences—such as the birth of Alexander's first-born son at Jedburgh, the marriage of that short-lived prince, the drawing up of his sister Margaret's marriage-contract at Roxburgh, and the visit of Prince Edward of England, the future "Hammer of the Scots," to the same place—show the continued preference of the royal family for the Border district; and it is with such an occurrence that we may now bring this reign and chapter to a close.

In 1285 the desire of an heir induced Alexander, who had now been ten years a widower and had survived his children, to contract a second marriage. The bride was the beautiful Joleta, called also Yolande, a daughter of Count de Dreux, the head of a princely house descended from the kings of France. The ceremony took place on All Saints' Day² at Jedburgh, where a countless throng, including great numbers of Scottish and French nobles, had assembled to witness it. Contemporary chronicles supply abundant evidence that the age was much addicted to pageant and display, and no doubt in this respect the occasion received full justice. Yet there is a suggestion that from the fact of the lady having been previously destined for a cloister the wedding was not

¹ Fordun, *Annals*, liv. See *A Peebles Aisle and Monastery*, by Robert Renwick, 1897.

² *Chronicon de Lanercost*, fol. 193. Fordun (*Annals*, lxvii.) assigns Alexander's marriage to the same year. "Joleta's" safe-conduct in the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland* is, on the other hand, ascribed to August 19, 1285 (vol. ii. p. 78); whilst among modern historians of credit E. W. Robertson refers the marriage to 1284, and Hill Burton to 1285. The existence of a letter to the king from the "Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and others who attended King Alexander's burial," dated "Friday next after the Annunciation of Our Lady, 1286" (*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 82), seems to determine the matter in favour of the later date.

looked on as altogether auspicious, and an incident said to have occurred in the midst of the spectacle and rejoicing was certainly not a little disconcerting. At the conclusion of the banquet, and ere the guests had risen from table, musicians ushered a masque into the hall. It consisted of a sort of Pyrrhic dance of armed men. But in the wake of the dancers, gliding and mingling with their motions, came a grisly figure not included in the programme—to wit, a skeleton, representing Death. The gay audience gazed on it in consternation and horror ere it vanished, and the impression left by the sight upon their minds was one of deep dejection and ill omen.¹ Their presentiments were amply fulfilled. On the 19th day of the March following, the wily Rhymer, being then at Dunbar, and having probability not altogether against him, ventured to emit a prophecy that on the morrow, before the twelfth hour, there should be heard “a blast so vehement that it shall exceed all those that have yet been heard in Scotland.”² The Lanercost chronicler says that the 19th had been a singularly tempestuous day. But the 20th was lown; so the Rhymer’s companions took occasion to twit him with the failure of his prediction. But even as they did so, a messenger arrived to announce the tragic death of the “King of Peace,” as Alexander was fondly nicknamed by his subjects. And, truly, if the event might be measured by the national misfortunes which followed it, the Rhymer’s figurative speech had been in nowise exaggerated.

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cap. 40 (Goodall).

² *Ibid.*, l. x. c. 43.

CHAPTER VI.

CHANGE BROUGHT ABOUT ON THE BORDERS BY THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER III., AND EVENTS FOLLOWING — THE CONVENTION OF BIRGHAM — EDWARD SUMMONED TO THE BORDER — SUBSEQUENT EVENTS — SCOTTISH INCURSIONS OVER THE BORDER — SACK OF BERWICK — EDWARD'S ITINERARY IN ROXBURGHSHIRE — LOCAL NAMES IN THE RAGMAN ROLLS — LANDS RESTORED IN VIRTUE OF FEALTY SWORN — WALLACE IN ETTRICK — FOREST ARCHERS AT FALKIRK — WALLACE'S ELECTION AS GUARDIAN AT ST MARY OF THE LOWES — LANERCOST CHRONICLER'S ACCOUNT OF MILITARY EVENTS ON THE BORDER — TRADITION OF WALLACE'S DESCENT FROM A PEEBLESHIRE FAMILY — THE "WALLACE" TOWER AND THORN — THE FRASERS OF OLIVER, FATHER AND SON — THE BORDERS UNDER ENGLISH RULE — ADVENTURE OF DOUGLAS ON THE WATER OF LYNE — THE "EMERALD" CHARTER — DOUGLAS CAPTURES ROXBURGH CASTLE BY STRATAGEM — SUCCESSION OF SCOTTISH INCURSIONS AFTER RANNOCKBURN — DOUGLAS ROUTS THE ENGLISH AT LINTALEE — PROGRESS OF THE WAR ON THE BORDERS — FROISSART'S ACCOUNT OF THE SCOTTISH SOLDIERS AND THEIR HABITS — THE INCURSION INTO WEARDALE — TREATY OF NORTHAMPTON — BRUCE CHARGES HIS SUCCESSORS WITH THE CARE OF MELROSE ABBEY — "THE GOOD KING ROBERT'S TESTAMENT" — DEATH OF DOUGLAS — THE BORDER HERO OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

"SOUTHERN SCOTLAND," says a brilliant historian,¹ "was the creation of David I. He embellished it with the monasteries of his religious foundations ; he strengthened it with the castles of his baronage ; and here he established the nucleus of feudal Scotland, and the foundation of that importance which eventually transferred the preponderance in the kingdom to the south." What is here said of the South of Scotland generally is true in a special degree of the Border counties,

¹ E. W. Robertson.

whilst it is no less true that the policy of David's immediate successors was in the main a development of that of their pious ancestor. But if the Borders had had their share, and more than their share, of the prosperity of Scotland's Golden Age, they were now doomed to taste in proportion of that cup of adversity which was for so long to be held to her lips. During the period that was to follow, says Professor Veitch, "the most unhappy part of this unhappy kingdom . . . was this Border district. It was exposed to outrage, fire, and sword from the south. Every English army must pass through it; and each time this happened the country was made desolate, either by the foe, or by the inhabitants seeking to starve the enemy. Even in times of peace there were constant reprisals from each side of the Border; and the internal raids and the family feuds were of the most savage, bloody, and persistent kind—almost entirely unchecked by central authority or law."¹

During the years now following, several of the most important events in Scottish history may be said to have been enacted on the Borders. After Alexander's death a meeting of the Estates, convened at Scone on the 11th April 1286, had with all reasonable speed made provision for carrying on the government of the country by a regency composed of six Guardians, of whom three—namely, Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, and James the Stewart—were to act for Lothian with Galloway. During the next three or four years the country had been already menaced by a war of factions, so that when Edward propounded his scheme for uniting the infant Queen of Scotland to the Prince of Wales, it was warmly approved at a meeting held at Birgham

¹ History and Poetry of the Scottish Border, vol. i. pp. 297, 298.

in the spring of 1290. In the summer following, a further meeting, representative of the entire nation, was held at the same place, to meet Edward's commissioners and to settle the details of the scheme. Among these details, notwithstanding the prospective union of the Crowns, were provisions relating to the marches — as, for instance, that the rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland were to extend to its marches, with a saving clause in favour of any rights which the King of England or others might possess or justly acquire there. The observation of the right marches was also provided for,¹ and it was proposed that the Border fortresses and castles should not be fortified anew.² At Kelso, a fortnight later, plenipotentiaries were appointed, and everything seemed to be shaping for the best, when the death of a little girl in one of the Orkney Isles, on her way over to Scotland, threw back for at least three centuries the happiness of two nations.

The claims of the Competitors, authorised if not originated by the death of the Maid of Norway, made the intervention of a strong hand now more than ever desirable, and accordingly on the 7th October 1290 we find the Bishop of St Andrews, whose name heads the list of Guardians, entreating Edward to "approach the Border," "to give consolation to

¹ That there was still work for boundary commissioners such as those of 1222 is incidentally shown by the petition (soon after March 19, 1285-86) of the Prior and Convent of Kirkham (*Calendar of Documents*, vol. ii. p. 81). These parties claim certain lands and pastures within the precincts of their manor of Carham against Sir Ralf de Hoveden, who, "notwithstanding that they possess under solemn inquisition made by the king with advice of his Court, wickedly suggests that they are within Scotland, and harasses the petitioners, capturing their cattle and men." Here we see, as it were, the germ of "raiding" and of Border warfare.

² Ridpath, pp. 167, 168.

the people of Scotland, to prevent the effusion of blood,"¹ and, in fine, to help them to choose a king. The excessive detestation in which Edward's memory has been held in Scotland makes it desirable to give prominence to the exact circumstances under which he first intervened in her affairs. There is no reason for alleging that he harboured designs upon her freedom at this date; and if at a later period the integrity of his early conduct was to yield before an error of judgment or a strong provocation, that does not justify us in withholding from a great monarch, in any given circumstances, such credit as is his due. After taking the not unreasonable precaution of issuing writs to some fifty-eight of his military vassals in the northern counties, he attended the council held on the banks of Tweed in May and June 1291. With what took place at Norham it is no business of ours to deal at length. Suffice it to say that the whole question of the claim there advanced by the King of England to be regarded as lord-paramount of Scotland remains to this day a hopeless imbroglio—hopeless, that is, until it shall be approached by a historian uninfluenced by national prejudice. In the meantime it is enough to note that, even by the showing of the strongest of Edward's partisans,² his claim on this occasion was at first allowed merely to go "by default." The words of that author are that the Scots lords returned to Norham, after the three weeks' interval allowed for deliberation, "unprepared to withstand, and *consequently* prepared to admit, the English claim."³ The state of indecision is thus not recognised. And in relation to their subsequent categorical acknowledgment of Edward's superiority, it must be remem-

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 74: "Littera episcopi S. Andreæ notificans rumores domicillam Norwegiæ esse mortuam, et exorans regem ad marchias festinare ut effusioni sanguinis parcatur."

² *Life and Reign of Edward the First*, by Professor Clifford, p. 117.

³ The italics are the present writer's.

bered at how great a sacrifice only could any of the parties concerned have taken it upon himself individually to oppose the English king. If they were weak in allowing his claim, he was at least equally ungenerous under the circumstances in pressing it. But this is an anticipation.

After due deliberation and consultation, his judgment between the rival claimants of the Scottish crown was delivered with proper solemnity at Berwick Castle some seventeen months later—namely, on November 17, 1292. On November 20, John Baliol, the still uncrowned king, swore fealty to his acknowledged superior in Norham Castle. He was then duly crowned at Scone, after which he renewed his homage at Newcastle. During the long interval when the kingdom was in abeyance pending his judgment, Edward had retained possession of its strongholds—among them being those of Roxburgh and Jedburgh, governed by Brian Fitz-Alan,¹ which had been placed in his hands after the Council of Norham. Strict in his observance of the forms of law, after making his award, he punctually resigned them.

There are few characters among those called upon to play a leading part in history who make a poorer figure than Baliol. His situation was beyond his powers, and he lingers in our imagination, as scathingly described by the chronicler, “paralysed, mute, tongue-tied, a lamb among wolves,”² a figure of pity. The events of his reign, however, scarcely come within our scope. He was scarce seated on his throne when the appeal of Roger Bartholo-

¹ In a letter to the Chamberlain of Scotland, dated May 5, 1292, Fitz-Alan acknowledges the receipt of £80 in part payment of his wage for custody of these castles. There are further payments on May 22 and October 9 (*Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland, 1286-1306*, vol. i. pp. 294-301, 350).

² Rishanger, quoted by Hill Burton, vol. ii. p. 158, note.

mew, a burgess of Berwick,¹ to Edward, against the finding of a Scottish law-court, opened up in a way which promised to become troublesome the question of the relations between the two kingdoms. Perhaps, in the difficulties thus presented, the lawyer-like mind of the far-sighted Edward saw its opportunity. At any rate, since to take action in such a case would be to contravene the terms of the Treaty of Birgham, which expressly provided for the judicial independence of Scotland, he compelled Baliol to release him from that treaty. From this Baliol's downward course was rapid. His overlord assumed the high hand, and the process of degradation applied to the unhappy vassal was ruthless and unsparing.²

It will be remembered that Edward's proposed punishment for what he chose to pronounce contumacy on Baliol's part was to deprive him of the three principal castles of his realm. Which these castles were to be is not stated by any of the authorities,—perhaps this had not been decided. But when, two years later, Baliol, acting in doubtful faith, consented to surrender three castles, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Berwick were those named. Meantime, war having broken out between England and France, the Scottish nation, grown weary of Edward's interference in its affairs, decided to take the side of France. In our desire to be fair to Edward we shall do well to remember that, as his intervention in Scottish affairs had at first been solicited from Scotland, so now the first outbreak of hostilities came from that country. In consequence of the

¹ Ragman Rolls (Bannatyne Club), p. 30.

² Among matters referred by Baliol, through his agents, to Edward was a dispute between the towns of Hadden and Carham as to their boundaries. Ridpath, whose history was published posthumously in 1776, states that at the time of writing there was still a common remaining undivided between these places (Border History, p. 188).

French alliance, in the spring of 1296 a Scottish army made successive incursions into Cumberland and Northumberland, wasting the country, and attacking among other places Carlisle and the castle of Harbottle, but effecting nothing of moment. Edward's vengeance was prompt and terrible. The town of Berwick is described by the contemporary chronicler of Lanercost¹ (or, as some think, of Carlisle) as, for commerce and population, a second Alexandria, "its walls the waters, its wealth the sea." Having invested that town by land and water, and carried it, on the 30th March Edward put the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, to the sword. The slaughter is variously estimated as from 4000 to upwards of 8000.² A month later a second disaster befell the Scottish arms at Dunbar, and from that time forward Edward's course through Scotland may be described as a triumphal progress. The itinerary appended to the Ragman Rolls³ enables us to trace his movements within our district. Arriving at Roxburgh from Lauder on May 7, he was lodged for one night with the Minorite Friars. The next day he went to the castle, which five days afterwards⁴ was placed in his hands by Sir James the Stewart of Scotland, who of his own freewill swore fealty, *tactis sacrosanctis*, kissing the Gospels. Edward remained at Roxburgh castle for a fortnight, and then set out on an expedition to Liddesdale, spending the first night at Jedburgh, the second at Wyel, which has been identified as a peel in the neighbourhood of the Wheel Causey, and the third at Castleton in Liddesdale. This was a Friday. During the week following he returned by the same route to Roxburgh,

¹ Fol. 207 b.

² Hailes's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 287, note.

³ P. 178, Bannatyne Club edition.

⁴ Hailes, vol. i. p. 292.

whence he continued his journey northward by Lauder and Edinburgh.

Among the hosts of persons of all classes recorded in the Ragman Rolls¹ as having sworn allegiance to Edward at Berwick on the 28th August of this year, occur many names from the counties of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles. The abbots of Jeddeworthe,² Meuros, and Kelshou, with their respective convents, head the list. Then we have Patrick, Earl of the March and Dunbar,³ Thomas de Soules, Wautier the Goldsmith, burgess and alderman of Roxburgh, and all the "comune" of the burgh. There are also Adam, the parson of the church of Roxburgh Castle; Thomas, "le pestour" of Roxburgh; and Nicol le Chapeleyn, warden of the Maisondieu. From Jedburgh come John the Seneschal of Jeddeworthe, John Damesone, alderman and burgess, and the whole community. There is also Richard Fossart of Jedburgh and Reyner de Clonas "Lumbard," "tenants le Roi du counte de Rokesburk." Among territorial names are John de Ormestone, John Fraunceys de Longa Neuton, Richard le fiz Geffrai de Ekford, David Eyr of Stichehulle, and the names de Hardene, de Maxpoffel, de Chesehelme, de Roule, de Farningdon, de Dolfinestone, de Rucastel, de Chathou, de Denum, de Heton, de Yetham, and so on; while among ecclesiastics are "Mestre William de Rotherforde, persone del eglise de Lillesclyve"; Johan, "vicaire del eglise de Edenham"; Morice Lovel, parson of the

¹ P. 117, M 20 *et seq.*

² The Abbot of Jedburgh here named is John. This must have been one of his last acts in that capacity, and when a month later William de Jarum, prior of the monastery, is elected to fill his place, the election is subject to the approval of Edward (Historical Documents, Scotland, vol. ii. p. 106). So when, a few months later, the church of Cavers becomes vacant, the presentation to it is made through the English king (*ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 161).

³ Called "Patrick with the Black Beard."

church of Petyt Cares (Little Cavers), and others, all "del counte de Rokesburh."

Selkirk sends Michel de Witton, Adam de Wytton, Emme de Ailmer, Henry de fiz Arnaud, William Gocelyn, Thomas de Selkirk, Cristiane del Grenehevede, James de Crake, and others. The fact that the number here is in all a small one is partly accounted for by most of the land being held by the Crown. Peebles has a larger contingent. It numbers William de Maleville, Robert de Hastings, Erchebaud de Morref, Laurence Fresel, Johan Hope, Lorence atte Bure, Nicol Kerre, Alisaundre de Droghkil, William le Wache, Cristine Lockarde, Johan Eyr of Mesfennon, de Erthe, de Horde, Renaud Hardegreyepes, John le fiz Walter Grethevede, Henry Ravesmaughe, Rauf "del pount de Pebbles," Huwe of the Leigger, William Porveys, and other tenants of the king, Walter le Scot, Thomas Walghe, Michel of Dundee, parson of the church of Stobo, Friar Thomas, master of the house of the Holy Rood at Peebles, William de la Chaumbre, bailiff and burgess, besides others, burgesses, and the community. Present-day names may generally be traced through the antiquated spelling, as Veitch in Wache, Waugh in Walghe, Purves in Porveys, and so on; and the impression produced is that surnames in our sense of the word are more common in the western counties than in Roxburgh.

When Edward returned to Berwick, after having in twenty-one weeks marched through Scotland, he left behind him a conquered country, regarded by himself as a fief forfeited by the treason of the holder. He had already dispossessed its king; its nobles, prelates, and commons had flocked, and were still flocking, to make submission to him. It now only remained for him to arrange for the administration of the country's affairs, and to complete his measures for joining it

to England. He was careful to choose his officials among those unlikely to be seduced from his interest, and one of his first steps being to secure the strongholds, he made William Tonke, or Touk, governor of Roxburgh Castle, and Thomas de Burnham, governor of Jedburgh, with the Forest of Selkirk and its appurtenances. In a succession of writs, dated September 3, and addressed to the sheriffs of the three counties,¹ he orders the restoration of the lands of certain Borderers who had sworn fealty to him, thus making clear the worldly wisdom of those who had attended the ceremony of a week earlier. Among the Roxburghshire names appear Richard Forshard, Walter de Sherewyndelawe, Alan le Fraunceys, Richard de Alnecrum, Adam Makepoffel, and others. Selkirk has Richard Scot, and Peebles Thomas de Cardies, or Burdis.

Whilst giving Edward full credit for the moderation of his present conduct, one is quite unprepared to accept the statement of his advocate, Professor Clifford, that to Scotland his supremacy was a "positive good."² Supposing that every consideration of national pride and self-respect were left out of the question, there might, indeed, be much to say from the Professor's point of view. But he entirely forgets that it can never be for the advantage of a nation, any more than of an individual, to lose self-respect, and that no nation having anything of spirit will choose or submit, even "for its own good," to be dictated to from without. He goes on to say that in the long-run it would have been better for Scotland had things remained as they were at the period to which we have now brought them. Here we presume

¹ Historical Documents, Scotland, 1286-1306, vol. ii. p. 90; also Calendar of Documents, Scotland, vol. ii. p. 218. The deed is faded and defaced, and some of the names doubtful.

² Life and Reign of Edward the First, p. 112.

again to differ from him. Better in one respect it would certainly have been, for much of sorrow and of suffering would have been spared. But to those who can raise their heads above material considerations, in no other way would it have been better. For these, the permanent elevation and increase of true dignity to the nation purchased by the struggle of Wallace and of Bruce were not too dearly bought, for it is an increase of dignity in which every Scotsman worthy the name participates, and will continue to participate, a priceless factor in the formation of national character, a potent incentive to true patriotism. A historian of the newest school has characterised Wallace as a "brigand." But he forgets that an inspiration is not always to be judged by its immediate outcome. Circumstances will distort individual actions, but the deeper underlying feeling is only to be judged at a distance, by its aggregate effect, and with the help of sympathetic insight. The national instinct is generally right in its choice of a hero. At the least, and from whatever motive, Wallace kept up the spirit of resistance in his country when her heart and fortunes were at the lowest. And to speak of him as a brigand simply convicts the speaker of a total lack of historical imagination. It is true that the English chronicler dubs him a robber chief, but that is easily explained.

That colossal shadowy form figures obscurely in the Border country at least at two periods of his career. The first is after the desertion of the nobles at Irvine had seemed to doom his efforts to abortion. Then he seems to have withdrawn to Ettrick¹ with a band of followers, availing himself, doubtless, of the covert afforded by the forest, just as the gathering Scottish army had done at Jedburgh, while Menteith amused

¹ The authority for this statement is a letter attributed to Hugh de Cressingham, Edward's Treasurer for Scotland, dated Berwick, 23rd July [1297] (Historical Documents, Scotland, vol. ii. p. 200).

the English envoys, in the reign of Alexander III. In the Forest, tradition still associates with the name of Wallace a trench, "occupying a skilfully chosen position," on a steep hillside of the watershed between Tweed and Yarrow. Above 1000 feet in length, the work bears traces of laborious construction, being in many places deep enough to hide a man on horseback, and frequently paved with flat whinstones set on edge.¹ At the upper end, on the hill-top, it communicates with an extensive rectangular enclosure.² While in Ettick, Wallace is said to have been joined by Sir Nicol de Rutherford with sixty followers, and Walter of Hemingburgh at least so far bears out this statement as to speak to his having archers of Selkirk, described as shapely and well-grown men, in his army at Falkirk.³ It is possible that the romantically situated church of St Mary of the Lowes, or, as Mr Craig-Brown thinks more probable, of St Mary at Selkirk, may have been the scene of his election as Guardian of Scotland for Baliol, after his victory at Stirling Bridge. Certainly Blind Harry tells us, for whatever his information may be worth—

" At Forest kyrk a metyng ordand he ;
Thai chesd Wallace Scottis wardand to be." ⁴

His next move was to carry the war into the enemy's country, crossing the Border on the 18th October, and again seeking the shelter of a forest—that of Rothbury—for his headquarters.⁵ The guerilla warfare which followed is thus

¹ Craig-Brown's Selkirkshire, vol. i. p. 73.

² The one thing most certain about Wallace is his skill as a military commander. This he proved both in defeat and victory—at Falkirk as well as at Stirling. The skilful choice of the position of the "Wallace Trench," attested by Mr Craig-Brown, is therefore an argument in favour of its genuineness.

³ Extracts from Hemingford [*sic*] in Wallace Papers (Maitland Club), p. 62.

⁴ Book vi. ll. 767, 768, Jamieson's ed.

⁵ Ridpath, p. 207.

detailed by the Lanercost chronicler.¹ The Scots swept on through Northumberland, wasting the country, burning, robbing, and slaying almost up to the gates of Newcastle. There they stopped short, and turning aside into Cumberland, continued to act as before. After a month spent in this manner, they returned to Northumberland and recrossed the Border, where a detachment of them laid siege to Roxburgh Castle, withdrawing, however, before the approach of the English nobles and barons, who had secretly rallied and followed them. The English force spent some time at Roxburgh, but had to withdraw through famine, when the Scots again stole back, burnt the town, and possessed themselves of the castle and of other strongholds of the south. Meantime King Edward had been absent in Flanders. Returning thence, he set to work to raise money and an army, to which he sought by promises of pardon—so great was his emergency—to attract even malefactors and vagrants. This army he himself led in pursuit of the Scots, who had again retreated, and after his great defeat of Wallace at Falkirk on the 22nd July, brought it back to guard the Borders, where he remained until shortly before Christmas (1298).²

Such is an outline of the authentic story of William Wallace's connection with the Border. With the flight of the centuries it has, of course, received liberal accretions, which it is for the antiquarians to prove or to disprove.

¹ Fol. 208 b.

² The Bannatyne Club volume of 'Original Unprinted Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland' catalogues a number of papers, preserved in the office of the Queen's Remembrancer, which, taken together with those printed in the Historical Documents, should throw valuable light on the *personnel* of the garrisons of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, the Castle and Forest of Selkirk, and the Shrievalty of Peebles, their pay, the fortifications and furnishings of the castles, &c., during these and the few following years.

For instance, the hero has been claimed as a descendant from a Tweeddale family—that of Fraser,¹ a house which, in the person of Sir Simon Fraser, certainly produced one leader in the War of Independence. Then, again, there are various localities and objects which tradition associates with the name. Of these is the ruined tower near the present village of Roxburgh. This time-resisting fragment, which still encloses a vaulted lower storey, is said at one time to have been ornamented with carved Gothic work, as would not be unprecedented in a tower of the kind, and surrounded with fruit-trees and flower-plots.² Henry the Minstrel, speaking of the period after Wallace's return from his predatory incursion into England, says :—

"In to Roxburch thai chesyt him a place,
A gud tour thar he gert byg in schort space."³

But Harry is a romancer rather than a historian. In view of Wallace's particular system of warfare, the statement is improbable. Yet it is quite likely that that statement may have occasioned the linking of the national hero's name with that of the tower.

The case for the "Wallace Thorn," which till recently stood in the grounds of Wilton Lodge, Hawick, is probably even weaker. The tradition is that, being in the Border country before Stirling Bridge, Wallace tied his horse's bridle to the tree while visiting his friend Longueville of Langlands,⁴ laird of the land, in connection with his object of raising the

¹ Historical Account of the Family of Fraser, by John Anderson, W.S., Edinburgh (Blackwood, 1825), p. 9. Note quoted from Brown's Genealogical Tree of the Stewarts. Wallace is there said to descend on the mother's side from Sir Symon Fraser, of Oliver Castle, son of Alexander Fraser, eleventh chieftain, and Thane of Man.

² Statistical Account of Scotland, 1797, vol. xix. p. 134.

³ Blind Harry's Wallace, book viii. ll. 1603, 1604.

⁴ Wilson's Annals of Hawick, p. 9.

Borders against the English. It will be noticed that the date tallies with that of his visit to Ettrick. On the other hand, it is stated that the lands of Wilton were not at that time in possession of the Longueville family. There is also doubt as to a hawthorn surviving so long, though a specialist asserts that one might live at least four centuries.¹ Perhaps on the whole we must reluctantly relegate "Wallace's Thorn" to the category of those of Glastonbury and of Cawdor. Something must at any rate be allowed for the reputed tendency on the part of the Scottish peasant of bygone time to associate any particularly striking work of art or nature with the name of "Michael Scot, Wallace, or the devil."

During the few years of life which now remained to him, Edward again entered Scotland with an army no less than four times, but these later expeditions were directed against the western and northern counties. After what seemed the final conquest of the country in 1304, he withdrew by way of Selkirk, Jedburgh, and Yetholm.

In the interval between Wallace's eclipse at Falkirk and the definite emergence of Bruce in the character of patriot, there is perhaps no figure more prominent in the struggle against Edward than that of the Peeblesshire baron who has been already named—Sir Simon Fraser. He was the representative of one of the oldest and most powerful of the feudal families planted in Tweeddale, the race being connected by legend with the fabulous Achaius, whilst the origin of the name is similarly referred to the presentation of a plate of remarkably fine strawberries to Charles the Simple by one who previously bore the name De Berry.² Fruid, in the wilds of Tweeddale, is represented as their earliest local habitation; whilst an Oliver Fraser, who was probably alive

¹ Anderson's Practical Gardener, p. 27.

² Historical Account of the Family of Fraser, p. 4.

in the later years of David I., and is mentioned in the charters of Newbattle Abbey,¹ is regarded as the builder of Oliver Castle. The family soon increased in power and spread into neighbouring counties, the Frasers of Oliver holding their lands direct of the Crown, and, as so doing, being entitled to sit in the council of the kingdom. In the reign of Alexander III. a Gilbert Fraser, probably the grandfather of the patriot, was Sheriff of Traquair. A Sir Simon, probably his son, was Sheriff of Peebles and Keeper of the Forests of Selkirk and Traquair. Of the latter we catch a glimpse at Carham, in February 1289, when he stickles for the use of the Border law in the case of John le Massun, a Gascon merchant. "A stern and worthy patriot," Veitch calls him, and proceeds to sentimentalise in his own peculiar vein over the old man's ride to Norham, in the summer of 1291, to swear fealty to Edward, and over his death, within the glimmering chamber of his peel, which followed not long afterwards. But leaving sentiment out of the question, Symon Fraser the elder seems to have been, like others of his period, pliant, aggressive, and self-seeking—nothing more. Before March 1285 the priest of Witfield, diocese of Durham, had had occasion to complain "to God and the king" of the conduct of this stern patriot, who had sent thirty-two of his servants to seize and bind him upon a horse, and, having carried him into Scotland and robbed and sore wounded him, to leave him for dead in the Forest of Selkirk at midnight.² So far as the present writer is aware, there is no such definitely formulated charge of outrage for private ends made against the "princeps latronum," Wallace.

Simon Fraser the younger seems to have been one of those

¹ Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle, pp. 76, 77.

² Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. ii. p. 81.

who, like Bruce, took some time to decide which side to join ; but of course we are bound to remember that in their eyes the character and ultimate issues of the national struggle did not present themselves so definitely as they do to us to-day. Veitch would make outward circumstances "somehow" responsible for Fraser's early apostasy, and takes it upon himself to tell us that "his heart was all along with the national cause." But in the absence of any possible evidence to support it, I must decline to share that opinion. We shall, however, do well to bear in mind that being, like Bruce, of Norman origin, Fraser probably had sympathies, as he had interests, with both sides. Probably, also, it will be enough if we claim for him that he rose with experience out of time-serving into man-like decision. In any case, the facts in his story are as follows. Having sworn allegiance in 1291, he was probably surprised when, on his father's death, he found himself passed over for the keepership of Selkirk Forest, which, as we have seen, was given to De Burnham. Espousing the Scottish side in 1296, he fought at the battle of Dunbar, where he was taken prisoner, but was released from captivity that he might accompany Edward to Flanders. In consideration of having acquitted himself well in that campaign, his forfeited lands were restored to him ; he was installed in the keepership, and was for some years a trusted officer of Edward in Scotland. Veitch thinks that he fought against Wallace at Falkirk ;¹ but soon after that he began to be suspected of disaffection, and in the autumn of 1301 he definitely cast in his lot with the national party, to which he now remained faithful until the end. Next year, in conjunction with Comyn, with a body of men raised in Tweeddale and Lanarkshire, he defeated Sir John Segrave, the English Guardian of Scotland, in a battle fought at Roslin. But in

¹ Border History and Poetry, vol. i. p. 317.

spite of this success—the greatest gained by the Scots in this struggle before Bannockburn—we find him two years later, with Comyn, Soulis, and the other leaders, compelled to come to terms with the English. It was agreed that his life and estates should be spared, but he disregarded the terms of the accommodation. Having been summoned to Edward's presence, and having disobeyed the summons, he was outlawed, and joining Wallace in the last obscure struggles of that patriot's life, was defeated by Segrave on his own estate at Happlew,¹ Peeblesshire, in March 1304. He was exiled and went abroad, but could not stay there, for in 1306, when Comyn's murder and Bruce's coronation had brought Aymer de Valence with an army to Scotland, we find Fraser at the fight of Methven, where he saved Bruce's life. Made prisoner for the second time, he was taken to London, and there shared the barbarities of Wallace's sentence, his head, after decapitation, being set up over London Bridge. It is said that at the place of execution his handsome form and noble bearing drew expressions of sympathy and admiration from the crowd; and in consideration of his end we may well forget his early indecision, and remember him only as a Border associate of Bruce and Wallace—by no means the least of participators in their deeds and glories.

The Border counties were now under English rule. The provisions of Edward I. for the government of Scotland, drawn up in Parliament at Westminster in 1305, had included the appointment of two Justiciaries over Lothian; and his son, in making new appointments on his accession, gave to his joint Lieutenants and Guardians over Scotland special charge of the district between Berwick and the Forth. Roxburgh and Jedburgh castles were retained in the hands of the king's officers, and Aymer de Valence was

¹ Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. iv. p. 474.

named hereditary Sheriff of Peebles and Selkirk.¹ The scene of Bruce's romantic wanderings and adventures, which, following the murder of Comyn and his own coronation, occupied this period, is laid chiefly in the west and north; but as his fortunes brightened, his influence began to extend towards the Border. The most devoted of his adherents was the "Good Sir James," son of Wallace's staunchest supporter, William of Douglas, and to him was intrusted the task of reducing the English strongholds in the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh. The poet Barbour tells us that, whilst thus engaged, he came one night to a house on the Water of Lyne in Peeblesshire, where he intended to sleep, but found it already occupied. Suspicious as to who the occupants might be, he and his followers listened outside until—according to one reading of the poem—they heard a voice within pronounce the word "devil." Knowing from this that the speaker must be English—for a Scot would have said "deil"—they beset the house, ousted the intruders, and in the person of Bruce's nephew, Thomas, son of Randolph, made a most important prisoner.² Randolph, afterwards Earl of Moray, became a principal ally of Bruce's, and by so doing forfeited his Roxburghshire estate of Stichill. Meantime Douglas's work in the Borders prospered, so that the newly acquired estates of De Valence were also forfeited, on the ground that the tenants had "traitorously" deserted King Edward in favour of Bruce. And it may here be mentioned that, after the final triumph of the latter, these lands were granted to Douglas by a charter of 1321, confirmed in 1324 by a deed which, from the king's placing "ane ring and ane enrod," in token of

¹ Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 83.

² Barbour's *The Brus*, chap. lxxiv.; Maxwell's *Robert the Bruce*, p. 181, note.

its perpetual endurance, on the holder's fingers at the time of seizin, was known as the Emerald Charter.¹

Among Douglas's further achievements on the Border, which Barbour acknowledges were too numerous to be rehearsed, must be mentioned his taking of Roxburgh Castle by stratagem. Having resolved on the capture, he set one Sym of the Ledous, or Leadhouse, to fashion hempen ladders, fitted with wooden steps and with strong square iron hooks that could be fixed to the "kyrnells," or crenelations of the battlements of the castle. This done, he collected some threescore trusty followers, who, concealing their armour under black "froggis," or frocks, drew near the castle on all fours. By this device—the twilight abetting—they were mistaken for cattle by those on the castle walls, who, naming a certain husbandman of the neighbourhood, proceeded to make merry at his expense; for it was Fastern's E'en, and they concluded that his keeping of the feast had led him to neglect to house his beasts. Having reached the castle and adjusted the ladders, Sym was the first to mount, and having overpowered and slain the sentry, he threw the body over the battlements, whilst signalling to his friends below that the coast was clear. They followed him, and, gathering in the courtyard, found that the entire inhabitants of the castle were assembled in the great hall, to celebrate the feast by dancing and singing and "otherwais playing"—

" As apon Fastrynevin it is
The custum to mak joy and blis
To folk that ar in savite."

But the appearance of safety was fallacious, as they soon found, when the intruders, suddenly appearing in the midst, raised the cry of "Douglas! Douglas!" They were so

¹ Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 84.

taken by surprise that no defence was attempted except by the warden, Gilmyn de Fiennes, who with some of his company took refuge in the keep. Here he held out till the morrow, when, having received a wound in the face which threatened to prove fatal (and eventually did so), he surrendered on condition of being allowed to march out with the honours of war and pass to England. Bruce had the castle demolished, as was his practice with his captures, and one is pleased to hear that the services of Sym were handsomely rewarded. The taking of Roxburgh was followed by the acknowledgment of Bruce as king throughout the greater part of Teviotdale.¹ This took place in 1314, the memorable year of Bannockburn; but before this, in 1309, Edward II. had passed through the Border country in one of his abortive invasions of Scotland—stopping at Selkirk, Lessudden, and Roxburgh during the September of that year;² whilst Bruce on his part had crossed the Solway and repeatedly raided the northern counties, which were finally glad to make heavy payments as the price of a suspension of hostilities.

Though the main issue of the national struggle was decided at Bannockburn,³ the war, in so far as it affected the Border, was not terminated by that victory. On the contrary, in respect to burning and harrying, if not slaying, the northern counties continued to fare as badly as ever before. In the first place, finding these left defenceless by

¹ Barbour's *The Brus*, chap. lxxxi., lxxxii.

² *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 32.

³ John Major's account of the battle mentions the fierce onslaught made by the men of the Borders upon the enemy. He also alludes to the execution done by the "iron-knobbed staves of Jedburgh"—weapons fashioned by the smiths of Jethart by fastening a piece of tempered iron four feet long to the end of a stout staff (Major's *Greater Britain*, book v. chap. iii., *Scot. Hist. Soc.*)

the King of England's ignominious flight from Scotland, Bruce sent his brother Edward, with Douglas and John de Soulis, to invade Northumberland, which they accomplished to good purpose—not only wasting the whole of that county, but penetrating as far as Teesdale, whence they returned by way of Appleby. After this, incursions followed each other in as rapid succession as the terms of truces dearly purchased by the north-countrymen would allow. In one of these Douglas wasted county Durham, and, entering Hartlepool, drove the terrified inhabitants to seek refuge in their shipping. In another the Scots pressed on to Richmond in Yorkshire, and being bought off there, turned to Furness, which had hitherto escaped their ravages. A third—a night attack, led by the king and Douglas against Berwick—came very near proving successful. In a fourth, again led by the king, the city of Carlisle sustained an eleven days' siege, memorable for the varied ineffectual contrivances and ruses of the assailants. Then there was another Northumbrian raid, in which Wark, Harbottle, and Mitford were captured; and a Yorkshire one, in which Northallerton, Knaresborough, and Skipton were burnt, and Ripon was compelled to pay tribute. Under the circumstances, and especially when it is remembered that the singularly luckless De Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was guardian of the north at the time, one is surprised at the failure of the so recently triumphant Scots to gain any but a purely predatory advantage.

On the other side the Border Douglas was more fortunate. He had been left in charge of the marches during the king's absence in Ireland to support the claims of his brother Edward to the Irish crown. Meantime the Earl of Arundel and Sir Thomas Richmond, a knight of Yorkshire, hearing that a large body of men had been withdrawn with Bruce and Randolph from the kingdom, judged the moment favourable for a raid.

Their special object was the destruction of Jed Forest, which, as we have seen, afforded excellent covert for an army, and thus greatly facilitated raids from the other side the Border. With this purpose in view the Englishmen were armed with hatchets. It happened that Douglas had recently been occupied in building a pavilion and laying out a park in the haugh of Lyntounle, now Linthaughlee, on the lovely banks of Jed, and that he was now intent upon his "house-warming." He had not, however, neglected the precaution of posting spies, who duly announced the approach of the English. He thereupon quickly assembled his force, which numbered some fifty men-at-arms, besides a goodly host of archers. Carefully selecting his ground, where the invading force must pass through a narrow defile, wooded on either side, he posted his archers, and then had recourse to the singular stratagem of bending down the young birch-trees on either side the way, and knitting their tops together, so as to form a net in which to catch the foe. A detachment of the Englishmen was riding without suspicion straight into the trap, when the war-cry of Douglas was suddenly raised, his banner was displayed, and the advancing column was charged from the rear, whilst the Scottish archers, from their place of concealment, poured their fire into its flanks. The force of their charge carried the Scots right through the enemy, Douglas with his own hand slaying Richmond, and seizing as a token of victory a furred hat which the latter wore over his helmet. Word being now brought to him that another detachment of the foe was at Lintalee, he betook himself thither, and found fully 300 of them in the act of making merry with the feast which he had prepared. He set upon them with his men, and as the poet puts it—

"With suerdis that scharply schar
Tha servit tham full egrily";

so that scarce one escaped with his life. On hearing of the double disaster, the main body of the army were so disheartened that they judged it well to withdraw.

“ The Forest left tha standand still,
To hew it than tha had na will.”¹

The war was now carried on in the struggle for Berwick, which had changed hands—as the fortress of Roxburgh had also done again—and in the raid of Douglas and Randolph into Yorkshire, which led to the fray with the Archbishop’s men mockingly known as the “Chapter of Mitton.” A sorely-needed truce of two years was then made, the King of Scots agreeing among its conditions to erect no new fortress in Roxburghshire. Scarcely had it expired, at the end of 1321, when Douglas, with Randolph Earl of Moray, the king’s son-in-law Walter the Stewart, and the king himself, was again over the Border, as the towns of Richmond, Preston, and Carlisle found successively to their cost. Edward retaliated by another invasion of the northern kingdom, which proved as futile as its predecessors. Disappointed of supplies which he had expected to receive by sea, and starved by the Scots, who, following their usual tactics, had retreated, leaving no provisions behind them, he found himself compelled to fall back from Edinburgh. Hanging upon his rear, Douglas gained an advantage over part of his troops near Melrose,² but did not succeed in preventing the sack of the abbey, where William of Peebles, the prior, a sick monk, and two lay-brethren were slaughtered in cold blood in the dormitory, many others of the monks being wounded to the death. The Host, which stood on the high altar, was at the same time sacrilegiously cast down, whilst the silver pyx in which it

¹ The Brus, chap. cxxii.

² Gray’s Scalacronica, fol. 212.

was kept formed part of the plunder.¹ Bruce and Douglas followed Edward over the Border, and avenged these cowardly acts by a defeat near Biland in Yorkshire.² At last, grown weary of ever-recurrent raids and invasions, and the sufferings which they brought in their train, Sir Andrew of Harclay, a soldier proved in Bruce's siege of Carlisle, took on himself to conclude a peace with Bruce, by the terms of which the independence of Scotland, against which Edward had held out so long, was recognised. There was now rejoicing beyond measure among the farmers and men of small condition in the north, on whom the burden of the war had principally fallen, and who saw before them the prospect of at length living at peace.³ But Harclay had presumed too much upon Edward's weakness, and had to pay with his life for his unauthorised, if not treasonable, action. It had, however, served the purpose of rousing the king into anxiety for the integrity of his kingdom, and he now proceeded to act upon the hint given him by concluding, in May 1323, a peace with Scotland which was to have lasted for thirteen years.

Unhappily, on the accession of Edward III., four years later, hostilities again broke out. Yet once more the Scots crossed the Border, and it is to this incursion that Froissart's well-known description of their habits in time of war has special reference. He tells us that they were bold, hardy, much inured to war, and well mounted—the knights and esquires on large bay horses, the rank and file on little hackneys that were never tied up or dressed, but turned, immediately after the day's march, to pasture on the heath or fields. A day's march would consist of from twenty to

¹ Fordun, *Annals*, cxxxvii. At the Parliament held at Scone in 1326 special provision was made for the rebuilding of Melrose, the abbot and convent receiving a grant of the dues leviable by the Justiciary of Roxburgh to the extent of £2000 (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 123).

² *Scalacronica*, fol. 212.

³ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, fol. 220.

twenty-four miles without halting. "They bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to pass in Northumberland; neither do they carry any provisions of bread or wine, for their custom and sobriety is such, in time of war, that they will live for a long time on flesh half sodden without bread, and drink the river water without wine. They have therefore no occasion for pots or pans, for they dress the flesh of their cattle in the skins, after they have taken them off; and being sure to find plenty in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle each man carries a broad plate of metal, behind the saddle a little bag of oatmeal: when they have eaten too much of this sodden flesh, and their stomach appears weak and empty, they place this plate over the fire, mix with water their oatmeal, and, when the plate is heated, they put a little of the paste upon it and make a thin cake, which they eat to warm their stomachs."¹ The writer's testimony to Scottish frugality—a quality which happily Scotsmen have not yet lost, and to which they owe so much of their success in the world—is worthy of note.

This army, numbering by the lowest estimate 10,000, now passed through Cumberland into the south-western parts of Northumberland, burning and destroying as it went, and driving off cattle in greater numbers than it could dispose of, though that so many cattle still remained in those oft-devastated districts may well tax our belief. Thence it passed on into the wild and mountainous regions of Weardale and Westmorland. Meantime the English army, having assembled in the north, gazed helplessly on the smoke of conflagration, for so artfully did the Scots pursue their customary tactics that Edward found himself constrained to offer the reward of knighthood and a landed

¹ Sir John Froissart's Chronicles, Johnes's translation, vol. i. p. 32.

estate to any one who should bring him within sight of them where they might be attacked. Indeed, the bold and ingenious stratagems in which Douglas excelled were throughout this campaign more conspicuous than ever, culminating perhaps in his daring night ride with a few followers through the very midst of the enemy, many of whom were not left to see the morrow. At last, however, the two armies confronted each other. The English now hoped to obstruct the way back to Scotland, but the Scots, again under Douglas's direction, contrived to outwit them, and made a successful moonlight flitting. The boy king Edward is said to have been so mortified when he heard of their escape that he shed tears. About this time we also hear of further military events in the shape of sieges of Alnwick and Norham castles, of another expedition into Northumberland and Durham, and of a counter-expedition into Teviotdale. The last was led, with doubtful success, by Henry de Percy, who had been appointed keeper of the Marches at a salary of 1000 marks, with a hundred men-at-arms and as many hobbles, or light horse, under his command, besides such of his own men as he might choose to employ.¹

The last-mentioned expedition into Northumberland had been under the leadership of Bruce himself, but his days of Border warfare were now almost over. The net effect of the war so far had been to leave England in a condition eagerly to desire a treaty, whilst the Scots were strong enough to insist upon carrying their point. External circumstances abetted them, and thus, in March 1328, was concluded the Peace of Northampton, by which the independence of Scotland, "as far as the old boundary lines," was duly recognised.²

¹ Ridpath's *History of the Borders*, p. 281.

² "Per suas marchias, prout temporibus bonæ memoriæ Alexandri regis

Other provisions of the treaty which concerned the Borders were that Scotland should pay to England the sum of £20,000 sterling—to be paid at Tweedmouth in three yearly instalments—"apparently as damages for the mischief done in the recent raids across the Border";¹ and that the Laws of the Marches be confirmed, with right of appeal in doubtful cases to the sovereigns. Further, it being stipulated that ecclesiastical possessions on either side which had changed hands during the recent war should be restored, the claims of Melrose and the other abbeys of Teviotdale received special attention.² Thus did the kingdom and people emerge consolidated and united from the war; whilst a fact by no means without significance for the Borders was that about this time it became accepted, whether explicitly or as the indirect result of an enactment,³ that those who "cast their lot with England could not be permitted to retain their domains in Scotland." The Treaty of Northampton, however, specifies exceptions to this rule in favour of Henry de Percy, Thomas, Lord Wake of Liddel, and the Earl of Buchan—exceptions which were yet to prove a source of discord between the two countries.

Bruce did not long survive the completion and crowning of his life's work, but in the brief space which yet remained to him he gave what must be considered as a convincing proof of his attachment to the Borders. His handsome provision for the restoration of Melrose Abbey, after its sack by Edward II., will not have been forgotten. On the 11th May 1329—within a month, that is, of his death—he

Scotiæ ultimo defuncti fuerunt habitæ et servatæ."—Fordun, lib. xiii. cap. 12. In the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. i. p. 126, it is given in Norman French.

¹ Hill Burton, vol. ii. p. 304.

² Wade's History of Melrose Abbey, p. 224; Ridpath, p. 289.

³ See Hill Burton, vol. ii. p. 306.

addressed a letter to his son and successors, in which he solemnly charged them with the care and protection of the same building, as the place where he designed that his heart should be interred.¹ By a yet later disposition, characterised by the fantastic beauty and pathos of medieval chivalry, that heart was intrusted to Douglas, his best friend, to be conveyed to the Holy Land, whither the cares and troubles of his reign had made it impossible for him to go in person. Faithful to his charge, soon after the king's death Douglas set sail for Palestine, landing in Spain, where he found that the King of Leon and Castile was at war with the Saracen King of Granada. A battle was imminent, and Douglas resolved to take part in it. He was honourably received at the Castilian court, and all crowded to see a knight who was esteemed, as Froissart tells us, the "bravest and most enterprising" in Britain. On the 25th August 1330 they joined battle near Teba, a castle on the confines of Andalusia and Granada, when, whether from excess of impetuosity, from unfamiliarity with the new and desperate foe confronting him, or simply because his hour was come, Douglas, the victor of so many fights, found himself surrounded and cut off. Seeing that his case was wellnigh hopeless, according to one of several versions of the story, he took from his neck, whence it was suspended by a chain, the silver casket which contained his master's heart, and flinging it before him, cried out, "Onward, as thou wert wont, thou noble heart! Douglas will follow thee." These were probably his last words. He fell, and with him many of his little band of followers. Some say that he might have saved himself, had he not paused to render assistance to Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, whom he saw hard pressed by the enemy. The cherished casket was after-

¹ Liber de Melros, No. 364.

wards picked up on the battlefield, and reverently borne back to Melrose, where it was buried. The body of the "Good Sir James" rests in St Bride's Kirk of his native valley of Douglas.

The Scottish War of Independence, studied from a Border point of view, serves admirably to illustrate the principles of warfare embodied in the lines popularly known as the "Good King Robert's Testament."¹ In plain language, the king recommends his subjects to fight on foot, with bow, spear, and battle-axe, and to put their trust in the natural rather than the artificial strong places of their country, driving off their cattle into safety, whilst they make the country about them incapable of supporting an enemy. He further enjoins the maintenance of a sharp look-out, and the persistent disturbance of the enemy by night, promising as the result the withdrawal of the hostile force, from famine and weariness, as if routed by the sword. The first of these maxims must not, perhaps, be taken too literally. The value of infantry pitted against cavalry in the field was at this time a new discovery, and as such may have required emphasising; but Froissart's description quoted above shows

¹ Goodall's *Fordun*, Edinburgh, 1759, vol. ii. p. 232, where the following translation into Scots is appended from Hearn's edition:—

"On fut suld be all Scottis weire,*
 Be hyll and mosse thaim self to weire.†
 Lat wod for wallis be bow and speire,
 That innymeis do thaim na dreire‡
 In strait placis gar keip all stoire;
 And byrnen the planen land thaim before;
 Thanen sall thai pass away in haist,
 Quhen that they find nathing bot waist,
 With wyllis and waykenen of the nicht,
 And mekill noyes maid on hycht.
 Thanen sall they turnen with gret affrai,
 As thai were chasit with swerd away.
 This is the counsall and intent
 Of gud King Robert's testament."

* War.

† Guard.

‡ Hurt.

us that the horse had not lost his importance to the Border soldier. Probably now, as in the later "riding" times, he was used rather as a means of locomotion than as an aid in the fight. In other respects it is scarcely necessary to direct attention to the soundness of the principles placed in the mouth of King Robert, or to their success when put in practice. For many a day to come they might have served as the text-book of Border warfare.

But though the history of this Border warfare may appear monotonous, it would be the greatest of mistakes to see in it nothing but a mere barren record of wanton raid and invasion. From this it is redeemed, first, by the nobility of its moral inspiration—for were not the Scots fighting for the freedom of their country?—and, secondly, by the chivalry and the military distinction of the leaders engaged in it on their side. One might add by their humanity, for though war was still war, we now no longer hear, even from chroniclers of the opposite side, of the butchery of non-belligerents. Perhaps there is no figure in history more distinguished at once by kingly and delightful qualities of character and by romance of circumstance than Bruce; and in Douglas and Moray—his right hand and his left, as they have been called—Bruce chose, not captains only, but men, well worthy to fill the positions nearest to himself. "Ye like subjects had never any king," says the inscription on the sword given by him to Douglas; and though the line belongs to a date later than that assigned to it, it none the less embodies truth. Of the two heroes, the one more closely associated with the Borders is Douglas, who, if not strictly speaking a Borderer at the outset, though his family had long held the lands of Fawdon in Northumberland, becomes adopted as one on the strength of his Border exploits and of his acquisition of the Forest lands. Barbour, speaking

from hearsay at first-hand, has described his manners and appearance. He was not strictly a handsome man, but one of commanding stature, well-formed, large-boned, spare, and with broad shoulders; swarthy of complexion and black haired. Speaking with a slight lisp, which became him well, he was gentle and courteous in company, but terrible of aspect upon the field of battle. As a military commander he was second only to the king, specially excelling, as we have seen, in the conception and execution of strategical devices, so that his adventures, in that age when the personal element entered so much more largely into warfare, remain the favourite reading of the imaginative childhood of succeeding generations. Perhaps the story of his last speech—first told in the allegorical poem of the “Howlat,”¹ written a century or more after his death—does not rest on what we, with our modern methods, should consider very reliable authority. But, even supposing it to be without foundation in the letter, one still feels irresistibly, as with so many others of its kind, that in the spirit it remains true—faithfully, if poetically, representing the life-long attachment and comradeship in arms of Douglas and his royal master.

¹ The Buke of the Houlate, stanzas 38, 39 :—

“ Amang the hethin men the hairt hardely he flang,
Sayd : wend on, as thow wont
Throw the battell in bront
Ay forrest in the front, Thy fayis amang,

“ And I sall fallow the in faith, or with fay be fellit;
As thy lege man lele.”

Of the author, Sir Richard Holland, little is known save that he was a devoted adherent of the house of Douglas, whose glory and power he celebrates in a long series of stanzas. His latest editor, Dr Arthur Diebler (Chemnitz, 1893), shows good reasons for assigning the poem to about the year 1451.

CHAPTER VII.

CLAIM OF THOMAS, LORD WAKE, TO THE LANDS OF LIDDEL—EDWARD BALIOL AT ROXBURGH SOLEMNLY SURRENDERS THE LIBERTIES OF SCOTLAND—ROXBURGH, JEDBURGH, THE FOREST, AND PEEBLES GIVEN UP TO THE ENGLISH—THEY ARE REGAINED BY THE SCOTS—MURDER OF DALHOUSIE BY THE KNIGHT OF LIDDESDALE AT HERMITAGE—DEATH OF THE KNIGHT—WARK CASTLE DEFENDED BY THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY—BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS, AND RECOVERY BY EDWARD III. OF THE BORDER COUNTRY—THE BLACK DEATH TRANSMITTED TO THE BORDERS FROM ENGLAND—SCOTS AND FRENCH DEFEAT THE ENGLISH AT NISBET—BALIOL'S SECOND SURRENDER TO EDWARD III. AT ROXBURGH—THE "BURNT CANDLEMAS"—BORDER COUNTRY UNDER ENGLISH ADMINISTRATION—DOUGLAS CLAIMS THE CROWN—THE EARL OF MARCH'S SQUIRE SLAIN BY ENGLISH IN ROXBURGH MARKET-PLACE—THE "BLOODY FAIR" AND ITS SEQUELS—UNREST ON THE BORDERS—JOHN OF GAUNT'S INVASIONS—DOUGLAS WINS BACK THE SCOTTISH BORDER COUNTRY—JOHN OF VIENNE COMES TO THE BORDERS—CAUSTIC CRITICISMS OF HIS FOLLOWERS—DESTRUCTION OF MELROSE ABBEY BY RICHARD II.—STORY OF DIVINE RETRIBUTION FOR THE SAME—THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN—ITS CHARACTERISTICS.

A PERIOD of warfare was now to follow, which was redeemed neither by substantial success nor by the distinction of individuals engaged in it. Of the three Scottish estates which a provision of the Treaty of Northampton had sought to secure to their English owners, only one had been given up. Of the two remaining, one—that of Liddel, or Liddesdale, claimed by Thomas, Lord Wake—lay on the Borders. It had been repeatedly demanded by Edward for his subject; but Moray, who acted as regent for Bruce's infant son, David II., seems to have seen good reasons for delaying to comply with the demand. It is true that a dispute as to the owner-

ship of Upsetlington, a Border village, had been amicably conducted, and that Edward had even taken special measures for preserving peace on the Borders. But, on the other hand, the government of England was at this time extremely unsettled, whilst the arrival and honourable entertainment of the son of John Baliol at the English court might well be regarded as a suspicious symptom. Moray was also far too sagacious to overlook the important fact that, in case of war, the lands of Liddesdale would afford a convenient entrance to Scotland. Students of history will remember that the difference of opinion now under notice became eventually a cause of war—resulting in an invasion of Scotland by the claimants, Wake and Buchan, in conjunction with other barons who had been called upon to choose between England and Scotland, and having chosen England, had found themselves dispossessed of Scottish estates. As this invasion took place by sea, the Borders for once did not suffer from it in any special degree; but its result was the placing of Edward Baliol upon the Scottish throne. After his coronation, Baliol made his way to Roxburgh, which then became the scene of the “solemn surrender of the liberties of Scotland” by this subservient son of a subservient father. His passage thither had been opposed,¹ and some fighting now followed—in the form partly of civil war, partly of raids over the Border, the principal leaders on the national side being Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, the late king’s brother-in-law, who was now regent,² and two Douglasses—namely, Archibald, brother of the Good Sir James, and William, known

¹ By Archibald Douglas from an ambush near Jedburgh. On reaching Roxburgh, Baliol quartered his followers in the town, but himself, for greater quiet, stayed with the Abbot of Kelso (*The Douglas Book*, vol. i. p. 204).

² In succession to Randolph, Earl of Moray.

as the Knight of Liddesdale.¹ Among the incidents of this warfare were the capture and burning by Baliol of a castle in Teviotdale which Hailes identifies as that of Oxnam,² a fight at Roxburgh bridge, a raid by the elder Douglas into Gilsland, and a counter-raid, in which the Knight of Liddesdale, otherwise called the Flower of Chivalry, was made prisoner. The English, maintaining that the terms of a treaty had been broken, now laid siege to Berwick. Archibald Douglas had become regent in succession to Murray. He marched with an army to its relief, but only to sustain the crushing defeat of Halidon Hill, in which he himself was slain (1333). Berwick now passed to the English, to whom the county, town, and castle of Roxburgh, the town, castle, and forest of Jedburgh, with Selkirk and Peebles, were also given up.

If we are to trust such questionable evidence as English records of Scottish Acts of Parliament which have no place among the Scottish records, this substantial tract of territory was to serve as security for a gift promised by Baliol to the English king, in acknowledgment of support received. In English keeping, at any rate, through much indecisive fighting, this part of the country remained, until lust of a richer prize drew the attention of Edward III. to France. Then the national party, under Murray and Robert the Steward as regents, began actively to recover their losses. In 1339 Baliol withdrew from Scotland. Two years later, the young king, who for safety had been sent to France, returned ; and

¹ The Knight of Liddesdale, long supposed the natural son of the Good Sir James, has now been proved the lawful son of another Sir James Douglas, of Lothian. Sir James the Good, however, also left a son named William, who succeeded him, and fell with his uncle, Archibald, at Halidon (*The Douglas Book*, vol. i. p. 186).

² *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 196, note.

in 1342 Roxburgh, the last or almost the last of the strongholds, was retaken by Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie. In recognition of this service Dalhousie was appointed Sheriff of Teviotdale—a piece of preferment which aroused the jealousy of the “Flower of Chivalry.” Grossly belying his title of honour, Douglas forcibly seized his rival, while the latter was peaceably performing his official duties in the church at Hawick, and hurrying him away into the wilds of Liddesdale, secured him in an *oubliette* at Hermitage. Tradition has it that the vault lay beneath a loft where corn was stored, and that the grain sifted through the interstices of the floor sufficed to sustain life in the captive until the seventeenth day, when he at last succumbed to the pangs of hunger. Douglas duly succeeded to the coveted office, but from this time forth his fair fame is tarnished. Suspected of treachery to his country and of complicity in murder, he was himself slain by his godson and namesake William, Lord Douglas,¹ whilst hunting in Ettrick Forest. The place of his death was Galsewood—afterwards called Williamshope—on Minch Moor, where a cross known as William’s Cross was still standing in Godscroft’s day.² He was buried in Melrose Abbey. Ballad literature has woven a tale of lawless love and jealousy around his death, but the author of ‘The Douglas Book’ shows that the subject of the fatal dispute was much more probably the land on which the two men met than any lady’s love.³

This, however, is an anticipation. Soon after his return from France, David thrice crossed the Border with an army. On the first occasion he is said to have laid siege to Wark, which was valorously defended by Joan Plantagenet, Countess

¹ Younger son of Archibald, the regent.

² The Douglas Book, vol. i. pp. 222, 223.

³ Vol. i. p. 224.

of Salisbury, famous in the story of the origin of the Order of the Garter—an incident located in that fortress. But though this is a Border history, were every Border raid or incursion which took place to be so much as named in it, not only would our prescribed limits be greatly exceeded, but the patience of a Job or a Griselda among readers would be exhausted. Suffice it for the present, then, to say that a truce followed, which upon the Borders was not observed very strictly. In 1346, the year of Cressy, whilst Edward was still absent in France, David, acting in the interest of his ally the king of that country, once more marched at the head of an army into England. The battle which followed recalls, in the religious enthusiasm which animated the opposing party, the defeat sustained by the king's great namesake and predecessor at the battle of the Standard. Guided by the dream of a monk, on the day of battle the English fastened their cherished relic, the chalice-cloth of St Cuthbert, to a spear-head and displayed it by way of banner. Their force in the field, being under the authority of the Archbishop of York, numbered in its ranks many of the clergy, who doubtless relied upon supernatural assistance; but—a precaution which had been neglected at Mitton—the secular arm was also powerfully represented by the captains, Henry Percy of Northumberland and Ralph Neville of Raby. The English gained a decisive victory, making many prisoners, among whom was the Scottish king. They also captured, in the "Black Rood," a Scottish relic of great reputed sanctity from the times of St David and St Margaret. The scene of the engagement was afterwards marked by a cross—from which the battle was named—which in 1589 fell an early victim to Puritanical iconoclasm. Flushed with victory, the English now pushed on across the Border, where Roxburgh was surrendered to

Percy by its governor, Tassy Loran. Hermitage followed, and soon the whole of Teviotdale, Tweeddale, and the Forest were again in English hands.¹

David II. now endured an eleven years' captivity in England, his sister's son, Robert the Steward, acting as regent during his absence. Meantime a succession of truces between the two countries, which followed the battle of Neville's Cross and lasted over several years, were observed with the usual laxity on the Borders, until the outbreak of a pestilence more terrible than any yet known in the history of the land for a time drew men's thoughts away from fighting. This scourge first appeared in England, and if one authority is to be credited,² Scotland owed her inoculation to an attempt to profit by the sufferings of her neighbour. Having mustered in Selkirk Forest, a Scottish army was marching to invade the plague-stricken kingdom, when 5000 men are said to have dropped dead. The remainder, retreating, sowed the seeds of death broadcast among their countrymen, until, as is estimated by the chroniclers, one-third of the total population must have perished. The bodies of persons attacked, who were generally of the poorer classes, are described as becoming inflated in a terrible manner, the patients seldom lingering more than two days. The panic and demoralisation which ensued were indescribable. Ties of blood were forgotten, and children fled from their dying parents "as before a serpent."³ There were other visitations of the pestilence within the next few years.

At last, in 1355, the King of France stirred up the Scots to further hostilities against his enemy, Edward of Windsor. The means employed towards this end were the sending of a

¹ Fordun, lib. xiv. cap. 5 (Goodall).

² Knighton, quoted by Ridpath, p. 340.

³ Fordun, lib. xiv. cap. 7 (Goodall).

renowned knight, De Garancières by name, with funds and picked followers to Scotland. The gold was judiciously kept in pocket until the Scots had pledged themselves to a war to the knife. But it ought to have been paid for performances rather than for promises or preparations, for, even so, very little was accomplished. An expedition to plunder Norham was, however, arranged by the Earl of March and William, Lord Douglas, slayer of the Knight of Liddesdale, who intrusted its execution to Sir William Ramsay of Dalhousie. Having executed his task, and finding himself hard pressed by the enemy, this knight retreated, contriving to draw his pursuers after him towards Nisbet, where he knew that Douglas with his Scots and Frenchmen lurked in concealment. Putting the spur of a hill between him and the enemy, Ramsay then hastened on to announce their approach. Douglas's men came forth merrily to meet them, and as there was no time for flight, the English, utterly taken by surprise as they were, had perforce to stand their ground. They were easily routed, and though but few were slain, the ransom of prisoners made the victory profitable to the Scots. The principal loss on their side was that of a most valiant and warlike John of Haliburton¹—a name which Sir Walter Scott, tracing through his grandmother, claimed afterwards to represent. The commander on the English side was the valiant Sir Thomas Gray, keeper of Norham Castle, whose capture on the field and subsequent confinement in Edinburgh Castle were the occasion of his composing the famous 'Scalacronica.'

Berwick was entered by escalade by the Scots, who had approached it by sea, during the night. But though the intruders plundered the city, they were not strong enough to hold it, and on Edward's advancing against them, they retired. From Berwick Edward proceeded to Roxburgh,

¹ Fordun, lib. xiv. cap. 9 (Goodall).

where he was met by Baliol, who now made a surrender which was even more degrading than that which he had made in the same place some years before. Scarcely containing himself for wrath, says the chronicler, he burst forth into "words bitterer than death itself": "Oh king! most powerful of princes, who art as I know more excellent than any other man of the time, to thee I yield, wholly, once for all, and without reserve, my cause and every right which I possess, or shall come to possess, in the kingdom of Scotland. This I do in order that you may avenge me of my enemies, to wit the Scottish nation, a people most unjust, who have cast me out from reigning over them." Then, gathering up earth and stones from the ground, as symbols of the kingdom which he resigned, he held them forth, together with the crown, and said, "All these I give you in token of your investiture. Act but manfully and be strong, and so conquer, to be yours for ever, the kingdom which was once my due."¹ The date of this ignominious and unpatriotic cession is January the 20th, 1356.²

The King of England remained for some days at Roxburgh, apparently awaiting the submission of the Scottish barons. Enraged to find this expectation disappointed, he made the ferocious raid into the country which caused the Feast of Purification in that year to be long remembered by the name of the "Burnt Candlemas." It was the eastern counties, however, which sustained the brunt of his ire,—the destruction of the beautiful Abbey Church of Haddington, known as the Lamp of Lothian, being specially bewailed. But the elements, fighting against him, compelled him to retreat before his time. Meanwhile the Scots harassed his rear, slew many of his men, and from an ambuscade under Douglas, in the forest near

¹ Fordun, lib. xiv. cap. 12 (Goodall).

² Hailes, vol. ii. p. 285.

Melrose, came very near taking his life.¹ Notwithstanding the comparative failure of the incursion, it served to bring a great part of the Border country again under English rule ; and that it so remained for a good many years to come is shown by an Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1367, which refers to the inhabitants of the district as "at the peace of the King of England," and makes provision for recording the succession to estates within its bounds by subjects of the Scottish crown who are debarred from taking possession.² During this period the inhabitants, though subject to England, were governed in accordance with Scottish custom, as in a proclamation issued after the Burnt Candlemas Edward had promised that they should be. As a further attempt to win the Borderers to him, it is recorded that he offered to confirm the men of Teviotdale, in consideration of past good behaviour, in certain, undefined, "liberties and privileges" supposed to be their right.³

Edward's attention being now again drawn to France, a treaty was entered upon between De Bohun, Earl of Northampton, his warden of the marches, and Lord Douglas, by which the latter agreed, so long as his own estates and those of the Earl of March were respected, to abstain from molesting the English. This did not, however, prevent his taking part in the battle of Poitiers on the French side. There was also present his kinsman, Archibald, a natural son of the Good Sir James, who owed his escape from captivity after the battle to a clever piece of acting on the part of his friend Sir William

¹ Fordun, lib. xiv. cap. 13 (Goodall) ; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 289.

² Hill Burton, vol. ii. p. 337. In 1363, when David made his indignantly-received proposal to the Scottish Parliament for the posthumous union of the kingdoms, one of the advantages to be reaped by Scotland from the transaction was the restoration of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and the surrounding country.

³ Ridpath, p. 343.

Ramsay, of Colluthy, who feigned to recognise him as a knave masquerading in his master's armour, and thus as a prize not worth retaining.¹ From 1357, the year of David's return from imprisonment in England, to his death in 1371, a succession of truces between the two kingdoms, better observed than commonly on the Border, made the history of that part of the country unusually uneventful.

On the death of David, Robert the Steward succeeded to the throne. His title was opposed by William, Lord Douglas, who in right of his mother, a sister of the Red Comyn, declared himself the representative of the claim which had been resigned by Baliol. He was not supported, but by way of consolation his son, James, received the king's daughter in marriage. The Borders had now enjoyed an unusual interval of rest, but the old state of matters was soon to recur. The body-servant of George, Earl of March,² attending the fair at Roxburgh, was slain in the market-place by the English, who, it will be remembered, were in possession. The earl's appeals for redress being met with jeers by the English wardens of the marches, he bided his time, and when the fair came round again, and the English were flocking thither with their goods, surrounded the town and wrought such great slaughter that it is said no Englishman escaped. The houses into which they ran were burnt, and large booty was secured. This was the signal for a general outbreak of Border hostilities—forays, ravages, and burnings becoming now of daily occurrence. On the English side these were directed

¹ Liber Pluscardensis, lib. ix. cap. 43.

² Strange to say, there is some uncertainty as to the lineage of this very prominent actor in the Border history of the time. He seems to have been either the nephew or the grand-nephew of Patrick of Dunbar, Earl of March, whom he succeeded, descending through a daughter of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, the younger sister of the celebrated "Black Agnes" (Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv., Introduction, p. xxi *et seq.*)

specially against the lands of the Lord of Gordon, who had been prominent at the "Bloody Fair," and who gave back as good as he got. He was intercepted at Carham by Sir John Lilburn, when returning from a raid into England, and a fierce battle was fought, in which the Scots had the advantage. This led Sir Henry Percy, the English warden, to take up the matter. He marched into Scotland, wasting and burning, at the head of 7000 men-at-arms. But when he reached Duns Park, some Scottish countrymen, not unmindful of the advice of Bruce's Testament, by an ingenious use at night of shepherds' horns and the *clochbolg*, or husbandman's rattle, created such a panic among his horses as drove him to an ignominious retreat.¹

There was now an interval of a few years, and then, in 1377, once more irregular warfare broke out on the Borders. Roxburgh was again burnt by the Scots, which led Percy, who at the coronation of Richard II. had been created Earl of Northumberland, to retaliate by ravaging the Earl of March's lands for three days with 10,000 men. Peace negotiations were then entered upon, but were rendered abortive by one of the favourite night-attacks on Berwick, in which seven daring Scots made themselves masters of the town, which they contrived to hold for a few days against a strong force of English. Taxed with this infringement of the *status quo*, March disavowed all knowledge of it; but his honesty seems to have been suspected, for an expedition under Sir Thomas Musgrave was sent into Scotland, whence it was expelled by Archibald Douglas, who met it near Melrose. In this incursion young Henry Percy, afterwards known to fame as Hotspur, earned distinction.²

¹ Major, book vi. chap. 1; Pluscarden, lib. x. cap. i., ii.

² Ridpath, p. 350. The Scotichronicon, lib. xiv. cap. 43, and Liber

At last these continued Border disturbances roused the attention of the central authority, and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, acting as principal regent for his young nephew, marched to Scotland in hopes to end them. Meetings took place, first between the Scottish commissioners and the Earls of Warwick and Suffolk at Lyliot's Cross,¹ Maxton, and Muirhouselaw, and then at Ayton between the Duke of Lancaster himself and the Scottish wardens of the marches — William, Earl of Douglas ; George, Earl of March ; and Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway. An attempt to arrange a *modus vivendi* between the two kingdoms was now made, which, being suspended during a two years' truce, was resumed in 1383, when Lancaster, returning to Scotland, met the king's eldest son, the Earl of Carrick, at Lyliot's Cross and Muirhouselaw. In the interval the situation had been complicated by an attack of the Scots upon Wark Castle, damages for which were now to be assessed by a mixed board of arbitration, to act with the aid of experts. There is, indeed, about the whole of these proceedings a curious inconsistency, — elaborate machinery being employed to gain an end not really desired, — and one is not surprised when the Scots, having concluded a treaty with the mad king Charles VI. of France, resume hostilities against England on the expiration of the current truce. Lancaster now made a second, and this time really warlike, invasion of Scotland, which was, however, cut short

Pluscardensis, lib. x. cap. ii., also mention a raid by the Douglas to Penrith. Attacking the town at fair-time, he burnt, plundered, and slew, and carried away many merchants and townsfolk captive. Some of his own men, who lingered behind through greed or drunkenness, were slain.

¹ Bain (Calendar of Documents, vol. iv., Introduction, p. xx) inclines to identify this place with Lilliard's Edge. If this be correct, the claim of Maiden Lilliard, the heroine of Ancrum Moor, to be its sponsor goes by the board.

by famine and the rigour of a tempestuous March. Douglas retaliated, and enjoyed the satisfaction in this the last war-like enterprise of his life of finally driving the English from that part of the Scottish Border, excepting Roxburgh,¹ which they had held practically since the battle of Neville's Cross, nearly forty years before.² He died not long afterwards, and was buried at Melrose, being succeeded by James, his son, and the heir of his hostility to England.

In fulfilment of the new treaty, in this year (1385) Jean de Vienne, Admiral of France, was sent with men, arms, and money to assist the Scots. Acting in conjunction with the Frenchmen, the Border chieftains now took and razed the fortresses of Wark, Ford, and Cornhill, and, after two or three raids into England, laid siege to Roxburgh. But here a dispute arose through the French claiming to keep the castle when they should have taken it. This led to a disruption, and the French returned to their native country, full of contempt and dislike for the Scottish Border, which they had expressed to their admiral by saying: "Sir, what pleasure hath brought us hither? We never knew what poverty meant till now. We find now the old saying of our fathers and mothers true when they would say, 'Go your way, an ye live long ye shall find hard and poor beds'—which now we find." The restrictions put upon their plundering habits by the independent spirit of the country they found in particular inconvenient. But in jus-

¹ Archibald Douglas having captured Lochmaben, the Baron of Graystock was sent to Roxburgh to strengthen it. But March surprised him at Benrig on the way thither, seizing his gear and dispersing his retinue (Pluscarden, lib. x. cap. 5).

² Ridpath, p. 354; Pluscarden, lib. x. cap. 6. It would appear from a list made for the purpose of a march meeting that the Scots, under March and the Douglasses, must have regained much of Roxburghshire before October 1, 1380 (Bain's Calendar of Documents, vol. iv. p. 64).

tice it must be added that, exclusive of the gifts which they brought with them, the soldiers were paid in advance, and were no tax to the country.¹

Before the French left Scotland, Richard II. had crossed the Border at the head of a vast army.² It is said that the dashing Frenchmen were all for immediately attacking him, but that Douglas, taking De Vienne up into a high place whence he could look down on the enemy, so impressed him with the contrast between the two armies that he made no further difficulty as to following the traditional Scottish methods of war. These were soon as effectual with Richard as they had been with his predecessors, but unhappily they were powerless to prevent his wanton destruction of Melrose Abbey. The obscurity of Richard's last days has given rise to various stories regarding his end, among which the monkish chronicler of Pluscarden tells us that, for this and other impious acts, he was doomed to wander, a beggar, among the Scottish isles, until recognised and brought to the Scottish court, where he ended his days in idiotcy.³

There is mention about this time of two raids into Cumberland; but it is a relief to turn from such obscure and petty wars to the deathless fame of Otterburn. The occasion of that well-fought field was as follows. When John of Gaunt retired from the North some years before, he had left the English marches to the care of Percy of

¹ Fordun, *Annals*, 189; Major, book vi. chap. 2; Pluscarden, lib. x. cap. 7.

² The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 301, says that he mustered 7000 men-at-arms and 60,000 archers, and quotes from Walsingham a statement that he had 100,000 horses.

³ Pluscarden, lib. x. cap. 7. Tytler devotes an appendix to the pseudo-Richard (*History*, vol. iii.) He subsequently made some amends to Melrose by a grant of 2s. on every sack of Scottish wool shipped at Berwick to the number of 1000 sacks. This grant was to be paid from the customs due to the king (*Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 646).

Northumberland, empowering him to levy the forces of the northern counties to repel invasion, and placing the castles of Wark and Norham at his disposal.¹ In 1386 John Neville of Raby had succeeded Percy in this office, which in 1388—the year to which we have now come—had been taken from Neville and given back to the Percys. A feud between the two great northern families was the result. In this juncture James, second Earl of Douglas, saw his opportunity for repaying the ravages of Richard's late invasion. The Scottish plans were laid—in secret, as was believed—at Aberdeen, far off from the Border, and an army numbering upwards of 40,000 assembled at the kirk of Southdean,² within the shade of Jed Forest. The principal leaders on the Scots side were the Douglasses, the Earl of March, and the king's second son, Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith. They passed the Carter Fell, entering England by the Reidswire, having previously taken prisoner an English spy, and formed their plans by the light of information elicited from him. The result was that the army divided—the main body pursuing its way towards Carlisle to plunder, whilst Douglas led a detachment estimated at 300 men-at-arms and 2000 infantry to Durham, to divert the attention of the English warden. But in spite of precautions the Scottish plans had been betrayed by spies of the seneschal

¹ "Le dit Count avera Pouaire sufficient, par Patente, pur Arraiere les Gentz des Countez de Northumbre, Cumbre, et Westmerlande, et de les compeller a venir et chivacher en Defens et Salvation des Marches, quant Mestir est: Item, s'il poet mettre Gentz en les Chastelx de Norham et Werk solonc sa discretion," &c. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 425).

² The Battle of Otterburn, by Robert White, p. 23, note. The place called "Zedon" by Froissart is sometimes thought to have been Yetholm. But White's theory that it was Southdean (locally pronounced Sooden), eight miles south of Jedburgh, is borne out by Froissart's saying that it was in Jed Forest, and by the subsequent route of the Scots—by Ottercops Hill and Rothley Crag, as described in the ballad.

of York and the governor of Berwick, who had been present in the masquerade of minstrels at the meeting at Aberdeen.¹ Northumberland ought therefore to have been warned in time, but his first intimation of the actual proximity of the Scots was derived from the smoke of devastated hamlets. He at once despatched his sons, Henry and Ralph, to collect the northern levies at Newcastle, where they were encountered by Douglas, when he recrossed the Tyne, having harried the country about Brancepeth.

Taking up a position to the north of the town, so as to keep open a retreat, Douglas spent several days in the neighbourhood of Newcastle. The time was passed in skirmishing with the enemy, and thus occurred the incident which was to lead up to the battle. The Percys are described by the old translator of Froissart as "yonge lusty knyghtes," ever foremost at the barriers to skirmish, where were many proper feats of arms achieved.² Douglas was just thirty years of age,³ and no less eager for distinction. One day he fought hand to hand with Harry Percy, and vanquishing him, bore away his pennon, declaring that he would carry it into Scotland and set it on high on his castle of Dalkeith, to be seen far off as a sign of Percy's prowess. One can fancy how the fiery Hotspur would brook this affront. He vowed to retrieve the gage. But next morning the Scots broke up their camp and turned homewards without his having done so.

Passing by Ponteland, the Scots reached Otterburn, which is situated in a green rolling country, traversed by the brawling river Rede, and at that time probably much overgrown by the small natural birchwood of which patches remain to this day.

¹ Froissart's *Chronicles*, Johnes's translation, vol. iv. p. 3.

² Lord Berners: reprint of Pynson's ed., 1523-25, vol. ii. p. 141.

³ The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 292.

They were now within a long day's march of the hill barrier of their own country; but, instead of pushing on, Douglas proposed that, in order to give Percy another chance, they should assail the tower of Otterburn. This, "for their honour and for the love of him," the rest accorded. Availing themselves of the marshy nature of the ground, and using their carriages for barricades, they made lodgings of boughs and "great herbes," and there passed the time without molestation.

It was in this position that Hotspur came upon them. Chafing under the sense of injury, he had clamoured to pursue them instantly, but had been overruled by more prudent counsellors, so that it was not until definite information as to the size of the Scottish armament had been received that his representations availed. Then, with a force more than double that of the Scots, he was allowed to start in their pursuit. It was late in the evening, and though there was a moon, the Scots had given up expecting an attack for that day, so that Hotspur took them by surprise. He had first told off a division of his men under Sir Thomas Umfraville, who knew the ground, to pass to the northward of the Scots, so as to cut off their retreat;¹ then with the remainder of his force he fell upon the camp.

By a mistake, arising from the half-darkness, his first attack was made upon the servants' quarters. Fortunately the camp was fairly strong, and the servants defended themselves stoutly, thus affording their masters a moment in which to arm themselves. As it was, Douglas fought with armour only partly fastened, Moray without a helmet. Now, though the Scots had allowed themselves to be surprised, they were not without a plan previously formed to meet the case of sudden attack.

¹ White, p. 37.

On this they now proceeded to act. A body of men was first sent forward to relieve the servants, and whilst these held the enemy engaged, a second body, leaving the camp by the rear, made a circuit, and in their turn took the others by surprise by falling upon their flank. The battle now waxed keen, and cries of "Douglas!" "Percy!" filled the air.

State papers of the period show us that Borderers of the two countries could not always be depended upon to fight each other in the field.¹ There were times when a national cause in which they had no personal interest would yield to natural feeling and to ties of propinquity and fellowship. But, as was now seen, when marchmen met in a private feud, and, as in the present case, one of old standing, the case was very different. The Earl of Douglas, impatient for renown, ordered his banner to advance; Percy did the same, and the two banners met. Great then was the pushing of lances, many gallant deeds were done, and many on both sides were struck down. Froissart, who drew his information from men of either side who had taken part in the affray, records it as the hardest and most obstinate battle ever fought.² Meantime the moon lighted the assailants; we are also told that the August night was temperate and serene.³

The press of battle was so great that bows were useless—the fight was at close quarters. Seeing that the Scots were losing ground, Douglas, seeking to rally them, seized

¹ Thus when Percy, Neville, Clifford, and other Border leaders undertake to join Richard in his invasion of Scotland with 2000 archers and men-at-arms, the indenture provides that two-thirds of that number are to be strangers to the marches—a clause which recurs in similar contracts (Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv., Introduction, p. xix).

² Johnes's translation, vol. iv. p. 13.

³ The author of 'The Douglas Book' fixes the date of the battle as the 12th of the month (vol. i. p. 318, note).

a battle-axe with both hands and dashed in among the foe, dealing deadly blows about him, hewing himself a passage through their midst. In this moment of battle-rapture, Froisart likens him to Hector. But such a triumph could not last. Struck by three spears at once, he was borne fighting to the ground. The darkness, now probably thickening as the moon set, prevented his being recognised for more than "some person of considerable rank." He received a blow on the head from an axe, and the rush of battle passed over him. When his friends gathered round him, in a lull of the fray, they found his body defended by his chaplain, William Lundie. By his side, covered with fifteen wounds, lay the body of another faithful attendant, Sir Robert Hart, who had fought beside him all night. Asked by Sir John Sinclair, one of the first to come up to him, how he did, he replied, "Right evil ; yet, thank God ! but few of my ancestors have died in their beds. I am dying, for my heart grows faint ; but I pray you to avenge me. Raise my banner, which lieth near me on the ground. Show my state neither to friend nor foe, lest mine enemies rejoice and my friends be discomfited." These were his last words. Having covered the body with a mantle, Sir John Sinclair raised the fallen banner from the ground, and returned to the charge, to such good purpose that the ranks of the English were broken, and they were soon in full retreat. Thus, as some think, was fulfilled an ancient prophecy of the Douglas clan that a dead man should win a field. It must not, however, be forgotten that the English, hurried on by Percy's impetuosity, had entered the battle at a disadvantage, coming as they did direct from marching more than thirty miles¹ through the heat of a summer day. The Scots did not neglect to follow up the advantage they had gained, but the failing moonlight deprived them of

¹ White, p. 36.

its full effect. Froissart, however, states the English loss at about 1040 taken or slain in the field, and upwards of 800 in the pursuit. The Scots, according to the same authority, lost but 100 slain, and 200 made prisoners. The ransoms of English prisoners, amongst whom was Hotspur, amounted to £8000. But the death of Douglas dashed the joy of victory with mourning. His body was placed upon a bier and borne to Melrose Abbey, where it was interred beside his father's, his banner being left to droop above the tomb. Leaving no son, he was succeeded in the earldom by his kinsman, Archibald, Lord of Galloway, surnamed the Grim, a natural son of the Good Sir James.¹ The Percy pennon, the cause of so much grief and valour, is preserved to this day at Cavers House, with Douglas's armour and other relics. In this sceptical age it would be strange if doubt had not been cast upon its authenticity; but the author of 'The Douglas Book,' after weighing the evidence, concludes that in this case tradition is "probably correct."² The banner bears the badge of the Percys, the white lion, together with that of the Douglasses, the bloody heart and mullet, and their motto, "*Jamais arrière*,"—the most plausible theory being that the latter are an addition made after its capture. With the pennon are preserved a pair of gauntlets, elegantly embroidered with seed-pearls, which are supposed to have been captured at the same time.

Thus ended the battle of Otterburn, famous in history, more famous still in song. The present age, utilitarian as well as sceptical, may ask what results were obtained at so great cost. We see that, since the days of Bruce, the struggle against England had declined from a war of patriotism to what one may almost call a war for war's sake, a mere war of habit, or, as it has been otherwise put, an "episode

¹ The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 321.

² Vol. i. p. 317.

in the larger contest which it had stirred between England and France." To the utilitarian, at first sight the net result of Otterburn seems *nil*. But, from another point of view, if Bruce's wars had illustrated a noble national spirit, no less did Otterburn illustrate a noble individual one. It was an age when in the natural course of events fighting had come to be looked on as the finest work a man could turn his hand to, and in the generous ardour of the time the *cause* of fighting would often be left out of sight. We read that Edward III. once kept his Easter at Berwick, and there held a tournament. Twelve Scottish knights entered the lists against as many English, and three were left lifeless on the field. This was by way of sport. *Cui bono?* Was the game worth the candle? Yes. For a high spirit and a noble scorn of pain and danger are always good; and, at least until we finally turn the spear into the pruning-hook, they are most useful too. Nor need we fear lest they become too common. Douglas and Hotspur were men of their own age, as all great men of action must always be; but the story and example of their meeting and fight at Otterburn remain to stir and to uplift the hearts of fighters in a better cause, as they stirred the gallant heart of Sidney, and have stirred many others before and since.

CHAPTER VIII.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT HADDEN—PROVISION AGAINST SCOTS-ENGLISHMEN AND ENGLISH-SCOTSMEN—RUPTURE BETWEEN MARCH AND DOUGLAS—SECOND BATTLE OF NISBET MOOR—"TINEMAN," EARL OF DOUGLAS—ROUT OF HOMILDON HILL—WAVERING ALLEGIANCE OF THE PERCYS—SIEGE OF COKLAW—HOTSPUR'S REBELLION AND DEATH AT SHREWSBURY—TINEMAN AGAIN AN ENGLISH PRISONER—FORMIDABLE RISING IN THE NORTH CHECKED BY THE EARL OF WESTMORLAND—FIRST USE OF CANNON IN BORDER WARFARE—RENEWED REBELLION AND DEATH OF NORTHUMBERLAND—BORDER PIRATES—CAPTURE AND DEMOLITION OF JEDBURGH CASTLE—THE EXPENSES HOW DEFRAYED—BORDERERS KEEP IN VIEW THE REGAINING OF THEIR OLD LIMITS—THE PERCY HONOURS AND ESTATES RESTORED—THE "FOOL RAID" AND ITS SEQUEL—CAPTURE AND RECAPTURE OF WARK—DEATHS OF MARCH AND TINEMAN—PROVISIONS AFFECTING THE BORDERS IN TRUCE WITH ENGLAND BY JAMES I. ON HIS RETURN FROM CAPTIVITY—THE KING'S SPEECH AS HE CROSSES THE BORDER—STATE OF THE BORDER AT THE TIME—"IMPRESSIONS DE VOYAGE" OF A FUTURE POPE—THE BORDERS PEACEFUL UNDER JAMES I.—BATTLE OF PIPERDEN—GREAT SIEGE OF ROXBURGH—THE POEMS OF "PEEBLES TO THE PLAY" AND THE "THREE TALES OF THE THREE PRIESTS OF PEEBLES"—LIGHT THROWN BY THEM ON SOCIAL LIFE OF THE BORDERS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Treaty of Leu-linghame, concluded between France and England in 1389, and extending by renewals for ten years, included Scotland as ally of the former country, and made special provision for preserving peace between her and her neighbour. It provided for the election of certain persons of high condition and character, who should be credited with full powers, and should bind themselves by oath to redress wrongs on either side.¹ The task of such persons would

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 628.

be no sinecure, for, between the weak government of Robert III. and the turbulence of nobles, whose occupation of war was for the time suspended, the state of the country was one of miserable disturbance. In 1397, therefore, a great march-meeting was held at Hadden Stank to redress all violations of the above treaty. The principal representatives of the two countries were the Earl of Carrick, afterwards Duke of Rothesay, for Scotland, and John of Gaunt for England. Among the enactments made at this meeting, and at others held at the same place next year, is one which specially illustrates the growing favour of the Border country as a haunt of lawless characters. After alluding to the disturbance of the peace of both nations as being specially attributable to natives of either country who had had themselves admitted to the fealty of the other, and who dwelt on the Borders,¹ it provides against the continuance of the practice, and enjoins the removal of those who have been already so admitted—in the case of Scotsmen to the south bank of the Tyne, in that of English as far north at least as to Edinburgh. The meeting also provided for the holding of monthly “march days” by the wardens,² or their deputies, to redress trespasses, and try offenders by march law, and for the erection of what appear to have been supreme courts, sitting in Edinburgh and New-

¹ “Item, forthi that commoune vois is, on bath the sidis, that Scotismen borne, ressavit to the Feaute of Inglan, and dwelland on the Marches of Inglan, and InGLISH men borne, ressavit to the Feaute of Scotland, and dwelland on the Marches of Scotland, are principale cause of distroublance of the quiet of bath the Reaumes,” &c.—(*Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 55.)

² The Earls of March and Douglas on the one side, and the Percys on the other. It was at one of the meetings held at Hadden that occurred the scene described by Wyntoun (book ix. chap. 18), in which Hotspur, clad in full armour, advanced a claim to the lands of Jedburgh, where Douglas had taken “herbry,” or shelter, for his troops. He was nonsuited; yet in 1404, after Hotspur’s death, we find Northumberland engaging to deliver up to Henry IV. the above-named castle and forest, which had been granted to his grandfather by Edward III. (*Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 364).

castle, under the presidency of a royal prince. The old right to pursue stolen goods, unmolested, with hound and horn, from one country to the other, was confirmed, and it was decreed that points in dispute between captains of castles which were still in the hands of the English, and occupants of land in their neighbourhood, were to be submitted to arbitration. As an example of such points in dispute may be mentioned the case of Sir Philip Stanley, captain of Roxburgh, who preferred a charge against the son of the Earl of Douglas of breaking the bridge of Roxburgh, burning and plundering the town, breaching the walls, and destroying hay and fuel to the value of £2000—for part of which offence the justification of Scottish ownership was pleaded.¹

On the expiration of the truce, hostilities were resumed by a capture and demolition of Wark Castle, avenged in a skirmish at Fulhope Law (identified by Craig-Brown with Philiphaugh²), in which John Turnbull, a famous Border leader, nicknamed "Out wyth Swerd," with others, was made prisoner. The old and habitual state of matters on the Borders was, in fact, soon in full swing; but it received complication from the quarrel of the two great Border chieftains, George of Dunbar and Archibald the Grim. The cause of this rupture was the jilting of March's daughter by the handsome and popular Duke of Rothesay, heir to the crown, and his marriage with a daughter of Douglas. The affront was aggravated by Douglas's seizure of March's lands when the latter proceeded to give in his allegiance to the son of the recently deceased John of Gaunt, who, under the title of Henry IV., had now seated himself upon the throne of England.³

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 58.

² *Selkirk*, vol. i. pp. 91, 92.

³ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 153. A safe-conduct for March with a retinue of 100 persons, and appointment of commissioners to treat with him, dated 8th and 12th March 1399.

Invasions by March¹ and by Henry followed—the latter notable for the good discipline maintained in the invading army,² and also for the fact that it was the last invasion of Scotland ever led by an English sovereign.³ It may be added that proclamations embodying Henry's somewhat belated pretensions to feudal superiority over Scotland were appointed, under certain conditions, to be read at Kelso, Melrose, and Jedburgh.⁴ The war then smouldered on, the Scots under Sir Patrick Hepburn sustaining a severe reverse at the hands of March in a second battle at Nisbet Moor, in which the "flower of Lothian" perished.⁵ But a more serious defeat was in store for them. Archibald Douglas, surnamed the Grim, having died in 1400, had been succeeded in the earldom by his son, also an Archibald, who from his consistent ill-fortune in battle came to be nicknamed Tine (or Lose) man. An instance of that ill-fortune was not long in occurring.

In revenge for the disaster of Nisbet, in September of

¹ The former invasion extended to "Popil"—obviously Popple in Haddingtonshire, and not Peebles, as suggested in Constable's Major, p. 336.

² "*Nihil memoriæ dignum actum est, sed quasi inoffenso pede rex Henricus repatriavit, modicum damni inferens patriæ.*"—*Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. cap. 11 (Goodall). With all due respect for Henry's moderation, we may remember that he could not afford to make, or to embitter, enemies.

³ Tytler, vol. iii. p. 87.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 157.

⁵ Constable's Major, p. 339. There are two Nisbets, one in Berwickshire and one in Roxburghshire, and it is difficult to be certain which of them was the scene of the battles. Fordun distinctly says that it was Nisbet-more "*in Marchiâ*"—which some translate the "Merse." This would lead one to conclude that the Berwickshire Nisbet was meant. But there is no moor there. The "March" is probably the correct translation, and that this extended over Tweed is shown by "*Marchemond*," the old name for Roxburgh Castle, used in the '*Scotichronicon*,' lib. xv. cap. 26, after the date of Nisbet Moor. The latter battle was fought June 22, 1402.

that year, Douglas, with an army of about 10,000 men, raided Northumberland as far as Newcastle, and had reached Wooler on his way home when he was met by March and Hotspur, with a force equal to his own. The Scottish leader drew up his men in close formation on the neighbouring hill of Homildon. But the English, seizing a hill which commanded it, and by March's advice relying on the arm in which they had always the advantage, poured a galling fire of arrows on the enemy. The Scottish archers could not meet them. Many of the men-at-arms fell in their places, and the remainder wavered in their ranks and were beginning to flee, when Douglas, seizing a lance, led a charge into the valley, where some at least of the English archers seem to have been posted.¹ These then began to retire, but in orderly fashion and without discontinuing their deadly fire. Armour was useless against it, and Douglas, who wore a suit which had cost three years' labour in the making, was wounded in five places. A panic seized the Scots, and they turned and fled in utter rout, no fewer than 500 being drowned in attempting to cross the Tweed. The defeat was, indeed, reckoned one of the most disastrous ever sustained by the more northern people on the Borders, and there can be little doubt that it was largely due to the intimate knowledge of Scots methods of fighting possessed by the veteran March. Douglas was made prisoner, and his earldom, with almost his entire estates, was granted by Henry IV. to the Percys. A great part of the Scottish Border country may therefore be said to have again changed hands about this time, the estates of March continuing in possession of Douglas,² and those of Douglas now passing, at least in name, to the Percys.³

¹ Ridpath, p. 371, from Harding.

² Tytler, vol. iii. p. 109.

³ Rotuli, vol. ii. p. 163.

But the friendship between the Percys and their king was specious rather than real. Nobody could know better than the English wardens of the marches the true value of lands granted as the Douglas lands had been granted. Then, as we remember from Shakespeare, Henry was fond of interfering with the disposal of prisoners taken in battle, and in the present case it seems he had incensed the Percys by forbidding that those taken at Homildon should be ransomed or released without his orders.¹ They seem now to have resolved to throw off their allegiance to him. It is true that Hotspur, entering Scotland with an army, laid siege to the tower of Coklaw, or Ormiston, in the parish of Cavers, near Hawick,² to relieve which the Duke of Albany led an army to the Borders. But it is generally held that the siege was a mere pretence to throw dust in the eyes of Bolingbroke, whose unsteady throne it was now the desire of the younger Percy to shake. At any rate, by July 23, 1403, we find Hotspur joining with the Welsh rebel Glendower, and fighting his last fight, at Shrewsbury, side by side with Douglas, his prisoner of the year before. On the suppression of the rebellion by this battle, the valiant but luckless Tineman found himself again a prisoner of the English. He seems to have obtained his release on parole some two years later, but his captivity lasted nominally until 1413, and when he was permitted to visit Scotland during that interval, it was always on condition of his leaving as many as from ten to thirteen substitutes of high social position in

¹ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 129.

² The Gledstones and the Siege of Coklaw, by Mrs Oliver of Thornwood, pp. 27, 28. Among several Coklaws on the Borders, the authoress identifies the true one. She adds that a very large number of small English coins of silver, mostly of the reigns of Edwards I. and II., and suitable for the payment of an army, have been discovered near the site of the old castle (p. 39).

his place. This speaks to the value set by the English on their prize, whilst the author of 'The Douglas Book' suggests that, from his vast influence at home, it was scarcely possible to carry on the government of the country in his absence.¹ He seems, at least once, to have given the English considerable cause to doubt his intention to return to them. The Rotuli of about this date also exhibit many safe-conducts for the return over the Border of Scottish prisoners of war of lesser importance, to seek money to ransom themselves.²

The English wardenships had now passed from the Percy family, to be vested in the hands of the king's son John, afterwards Duke of Bedford, acting for the East Marches, and of Neville, Earl of Westmorland, for the West.³ Yet, for some years to come, the more or less private affairs of the three great chieftains, Northumberland, March, and Douglas, continue to constitute the staple of Border history. It is now that we hear, perhaps for the first time, of what was afterwards to become a matter of such frequent occurrence—to wit, a "rising in the North" against the central authority. Scrope, Archbishop of York, and the Earl Marshal of England had joined forces with the aggrieved Northumberland, who, besides a contingent from Scotland, looked for assistance not only from Wales as represented by the redoubtable Glendower, but from France as well. It was calculated that 20,000 men would assemble at York, prepared to take the field, and the rights of the supposed Richard resident at the Scottish court were made the pretext of the rebellion. Though threatening to be formidable, it was checked in the bud by the bad faith of Lord Westmorland; and Northumberland, with his little grandson, the orphan of Hotspur, fled for refuge to Scotland. His lands

¹ Vol. i. pp. 372, 373.

² Vol. ii. p. 166, &c.

³ Rotuli, vol. ii. p. 164.

were confiscated,¹ and his associates, Mowbray, Earl Marshal, and the Archbishop, met on the scaffold the fate which had already befallen his brother, Worcester, after Shrewsbury. Some of his followers sought to hold out in Berwick, but Henry hastening to proceed against them,² they became panic-stricken by the formidable execution wrought by his cannon, and, surrendering, were imprisoned or beheaded. It has been stated³ that this was the first use of cannon on the Borders, or indeed in England. A recent writer, however, suggests that they may have been used at the siege of Coklaw, where stone cannon-balls have been picked up.⁴ Some two or three years later, Northumberland again raised the head of rebellion. Relying on the support of his native county, he entered England, as some say, from the Borders, at the head of a force of Scots, but being disappointed in his expectations, was defeated and slain at Bramham Moor.⁵ Douglas, as we have seen, was still a prisoner on parole, whilst March had been reconciled to him about the year 1409, and had returned to Scotland, his possessions, excepting Lochmaben and Anandale, being restored to him.⁶ Meantime the Borders had been enjoying a period of comparative rest. The new Earl of Carrick, afterwards James I., was a captive in England. His father had died in 1406—his end hastened by grief—and the ambitious and unscrupulous Regent Albany had excellent reasons of his own for maintaining the peace with England. Such disturbances as we now hear of between

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 408.

² *Ibid.*, p. 400.

³ *Ridpath*, p. 377, from Speed and Walsingham.

⁴ *The Gledstones, &c.*, pp. 38, 39.

⁵ *Fordun*, lib. xv. cap. 19 (*Goodall*). He calls the place Wedderby-more.

⁶ *Pluscarden*, lib. x. cap. 22.

the two countries were therefore mainly confined to the sea, where Stewart, Earl of Mar, a natural son of the ferocious Wolf of Badenoch, the younger brother of Albany and the late king, infested the coast between Berwick and Newcastle, and preyed upon English shipping.¹ In 1409, however, the current truce happening to expire, the people of the middle class of Teviotdale² took and plundered the castle of Jedburgh, which had been in the hands of the English since Neville's Cross.³ Feeling that it was a source rather of danger than of security, they then proceeded to demolish it—a task which, owing to the hardness and tenacity of the mortar, was not accomplished without great difficulty. There was even a proposal to levy a special local tax to pay for the labour, but the Regent Albany, ever desirous to ingratiate himself, appointed that the expenses should be paid out of the royal custom-dues of the marches.⁴ Two years later William Douglas of Drumlanrig⁵ joined with a son of the Earl of March in burning Roxburgh town and breaking the bridge. They did not succeed in winning back the castle, but it is evident that

¹ Tytler, vol. iii. p. 139.

² "Mediocrates Thevidalie."

³ The distinction between strongholds and the surrounding country must be kept in view.

⁴ Fordun, lib. xv. cap. 21. The words are "Assignavit marchianis de costumis regiis expensas fieri pro direptione castri." Ridpath, p. 378, note, translates this, "That the *people* of the march should be paid," &c. But it evidently refers to the march customs alluded to (Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. pp. 158, 159), where men of Berwick, Norham, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh are appointed to inquire as to the "transfer of woollen cloth, hides, &c., from Northumberland over the Border without paying the king's custom or subsidy."

⁵ Tytler, vol. iii. p. 145, credits this feat to Archibald Douglas of Drumlanrig, but for Archibald we should probably read with Ridpath, "William." William Douglas, son of the second earl, received a grant of the lands of Drumlanrig before 1388 (The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 273).

the Borderers had not lost sight of the old lines of demarcation, and would omit no opportunity of pushing their way back to them. Indeed, the realisation of this object seems to have been the dominant idea of Scottish Borderers of the period—a fact which affords a good example of that dogged tenacity of purpose which was one of their main characteristics. Meantime Hadden Stank continued to be the scene of international meetings, held for the purpose of renewing the short truces which were all that either country cared to commit itself to—truces, it may be added, which continued to be better observed than had been usual for a long time before. Perhaps the latter fact may be partly accounted for by the consideration that Henry V. was busy preparing for that great French campaign which was to be made illustrious by the victory of Agincourt, whilst the Scots on their side may have been waiting to see his hands full elsewhere. In 1416 young Percy, the son of Hotspur, who had been detained in Scotland since he fled there as a boy with his grandfather, was released in exchange for Murdoch, son of the regent, one of the prisoners of Homildon,¹ and having the family estates restored to him, was appointed warden of the East Marches, as his fathers had been before him.² About the same time Douglas celebrated his own liberation by burning Penrith, to which the English replied by subjecting Dumfries to similar treatment.³

In the change of circumstances, the very motive which had formerly inclined Albany to preserve the peace with England—

¹ Fordun, lib. xv. cap. 23 (Goodall); Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 174. Commission to receive Percy dated February 5, 1416.

² In an appointment made about this time, 200 men-at-arms and 400 archers constitute the force assigned for the guarding of the united East and West Marches (Ridpath, p. 382; *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 223).

³ Fordun, lib. xv. cap. 23.

to wit, the desire to keep the power in his own family—now led him to wish for war. Having, therefore, collected a large army, and sent his friend Tineman to assault Roxburgh Castle, he himself marched to lay siege to Berwick. He had reckoned on England being left defenceless during the king's absence abroad. But on hearing of the approach of the Duke of Bedford—to whose care Henry had left his realm—at the head of an army¹ of 40,000, both he and Douglas cut short their operations and retreated. The report was unfounded, Fordun suggesting that there was treachery at work.² At any rate, the incursion became popularly known as the "Fool Raid," by which name it was remembered.

The English were not long in repaying the Fool Raid with interest. Sir Robert Umfraville, governor of Berwick, had already won a reputation by his inroads into Scotland. His success, on one occasion, in supplying a deficit of corn from the neighbouring country had gained him the nickname of Robin Mend-market; on another occasion his soldiers, raiding Peebles on a market-day, had supplied themselves with cloth to their hearts' content, measuring it off with their bows and spears.³ In short, Sir Robert's plan seems to have been to apply Scottish methods of warfare to the Scots. Wishing now to emulate on a small scale the glorious deeds of his master on the Continent, he got together an army from Northumberland and Durham, and invading Scotland by the East Marches, burnt not only the rich towns of Hawick, Selkirk, and Jedburgh, but the villages and hamlets of Teviotdale and Jed Forest as well. It is difficult to comprehend the

¹ "Divers messengers summoning knights and esquires to resist the Scots besieging Roxburgh Castle, 50s."—(Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 176, Dated August 3, 1417.)

² Lib. xv. cap. 24.

³ Hardyng's Chronicle, quoted by Chambers, Peeblesshire, p. 73. Ridpath, p. 388, note, dates the Fool, or Foul, Raid too late by six years.

apparent impassivity of the Scots at this time, which can only be explained by the consistent ill-luck of Tineman, and the growing unfitness for war of the aged Albany, never much of a soldier at the best. At any rate, but a single flash of luck seems to have relieved their fortunes during two years. In 1419 the castle of Wark was captured by Sir William Haliburton of Fast, with twenty-three brave Scots. But even whilst the captors were treating with the evicted English, the latter, under Sir Robert Ogle, took advantage of the scaling-ladders which had been left hanging from the walls, and, recapturing the castle, beheaded the intruders, and flung their bodies from the battlements.¹ Fordun, however, mentions a raid in 1420, in which the Earl of Douglas succeeded in burning the town of Alnwick.²

In the latter year a pestilence, apparently of malarial character, visited Scotland, claiming as a victim, among many others, George of Dunbar, Earl of March. To a courage resembling that of Douglas—his old enemy and comrade in arms—the veteran warrior had united a widely different fortune in battle,—perhaps one should say, a greatly superior military skill. Thus it is recorded of him that, whether he fought in command or as a subordinate, with the Scots or with the English, his side was invariably victorious—as was exemplified at Otterburn, Nisbet, Homildon, Shrewsbury, and Benrig.³ Douglas did not long survive him. After the death of Albany, he transferred his support from the weak Murdoch Stewart to the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII., who had solicited help from Scotland against the English. Passing to France with an army of 10,000 of all ranks, he was warmly received there, and raised to the dukedom of Touraine. After the death of Henry V., his brother, the Duke of Bed-

¹ Fordun, lib. xv. cap. 31; Pluscarden, lib. x. cap. 25.

² Lib. xv. cap. 32.

³ Ibid.

ford, had succeeded to the command of the English forces in France. Douglas is said to have dubbed him "John with the leaden sword," and on receiving an ironical message that Bedford desired to drink with him, to have replied that he had come from Scotland for the purpose. He fell August 17, 1424, in the bloody battle of Verneuil, called also the Battle of the Herrings. Before leaving Scotland, as if conscious that he should not return, he had specially commended the welfare of the monks of Melrose to Archibald, Earl of Wigtown, his son by Margaret, eldest daughter of Robert III., who now succeeded him. The duchy of Touraine did not continue in possession of his family, though they still bore the empty title of duke.¹

This was the year in which King James I., released from his long captivity, entered upon the enjoyment of his own—an occasion which was marked by the conclusion of a seven years' truce with England. Several of the provisions of this truce concern the Borders, which, ever since the abandonment of the English claim of superiority, may be regarded as the great source of international differences. First among these was an article intended to check a lawless practice, which we have seen to be very prevalent—namely, that of the seizing from the enemy, whenever a fitting opportunity presented itself, of such conveniently situated fortresses as, for example, those of Wark, Norham, Roxburgh, and Berwick. The new enactment provided for the co-operation of the authorities on the *gaining* side in the restitution of such fortresses so seized. There was next a reciprocal agreement for the punishment of criminals of alien nationality, according to the usage of the country whose laws they broke, and in which they were apprehended. Thus a Scotsman convicted in England would be punished according to the English law,

¹ The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 388 *et seq.*

without right of appeal. Then there were provisions against the harbouring of criminal refugees fleeing from one country to the other, who, on requisition made, were to be conducted to the marches, and there delivered to the offended authorities. In case they could not be found, they were to be declared banished from the country where they had sought refuge, until the proper reparation for their wrong-doing should have been made. The property of such refugees was made available for "damages" by the authorities of the country from which they fled; whilst in the case of their effects being *nil*, their persons, upon apprehension, were to be subjected to castigation. All who, by counsel, concealment, or other means, abetted the flight of any such criminal, rendered themselves liable to share in his punishment. The above provisions rendered necessary others, which should provide for the safety of persons passing from one kingdom to the other—with or without the safe-conduct of the wardens—in the "hot-trodd," or pursuit of a criminal. There were also enactments directed against private retaliation for injuries received—a fertile source of disturbance on the Border, both now and in times to come—and against the evasion of the law of the one country by becoming "denizened" as a subject of the other. The reiterated enactments of elaborate character on these and kindred subjects serve to throw light on the difficulties with which the administration of the Border laws was beset, and thence may be inferred the readiness with which any loophole or means of circumvention was turned to account by the wily and not too law-abiding Borderer. The wardens of the marches on either side, with certain influential assistants, were invested with full powers for enforcing the new regulations.¹ This new treaty, which had been drawn up at Durham, was ratified by King James at Melrose, after

¹ Ridpath, pp. 389, 390; *Fœdera*, vol. x. pp. 330, 331.

his state entry, with his young bride, into their kingdom. Like his great ancestor David I., whose lavish generosity he is said to have condemned,¹ James had profited much by his residence at the English court, and it is recorded that as he crossed the frontier he gave utterance to his high aspirations as a ruler in the memorable words, that "with time and God's help, though he should himself lead a dog's life to attain his end, he would yet make the key to keep the castle and the rash-bush keep the cow."²

Some idea of the country in which the king now set foot may be gathered from the account of a contemporary traveller, who in this reign passed through the Border-land. This was a young Italian, of poor but noble birth, sharp wits, and pliant character, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini by name, who with the turn of fortune's wheel eventually rose to fill the Papacy under the name of Pius II. In considering his remarks, one may do well to bear in mind that he was by no means free from the traveller's characteristic failings of credulity, prejudice, and inaccuracy, proceeding from insufficient information. Landing, after a perilous voyage, apparently upon the coast of East Lothian, he transacted his business, and proceeding southward, reached the Tweed, which he crossed by boat near a large town, which may have been either Kelso or Berwick. He put up for the night at a neighbouring farmhouse, and supped in company of the farmer and the parish priest. The fare provided included poultry in abundance, but neither bread nor wine. Æneas had, however, taken the precaution to bring supplies of these things with him, which, he tells us, excited much curiosity and desire among the inhabitants, who flocked to gaze upon the stranger. The feast was prolonged to the small hours, when the householder and priest beat a hurried retreat, directing their course towards

¹ Major, book iii. chap. 11.

² Fordun, lib. xvi. cap. 34 (Goodall).

a distant keep (perhaps Norham, perhaps Roxburgh), where they would be safe in the event of an incursion of the Scots.¹ Æneas would gladly have accompanied them, but was left behind with his guide, two servants, and about a hundred women. The night was passing merrily enough—for, instead of retiring to rest, the women sat up round the fire, pursuing their labour of dressing flax, and conversing with the Italian through an interpreter—when a sudden barking of dogs and cackling of geese sent them fleeing in consternation in all directions. They believed that the Scots were upon them; but, helpless and ignorant of his bearings, Æneas had no choice but to stand his ground. It was soon discovered, however, that the arrivals which had disturbed the brute creation, and so given rise to the alarm, were friends, not enemies, and the women returned to reassure their visitor.² It was midwinter, and to the Italian the northern nights seemed interminable; but when at last the day broke, he pursued his journey southward, and at Newcastle congratulated himself on being once more among civilised and habitable surroundings,—“for the Border country, which is rugged, uncultured, and in winter inaccessible to the sun’s rays, has no feature in common with my home.” The similarity of this sentiment and those expressed by the French knights of Jean de Vienne will scarcely escape the reader’s observation.

One of the things which most impressed Piccolomini in

¹ “Who for purposes of plunder were in the habit of crossing the river at ebb-tide during the night,” quotes Dr Hume Brown (*Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 29). The reference to the ebb-tide seems to point to Berwick, but unless Tweedmouth is included, why should the Scots cross the river to reach it?

² Is it too much to suspect that these ladies, whom the author describes as lively, and whose good looks had manifestly impressed him, got the men to connive with them, and played off a practical joke at the expense of the foreigner’s credulity? There is much in the narrative to favour this suspicion.

Scotland was the frankness of the women, whom he describes as fair in complexion and well-favoured, and as giving their kisses more readily than Italian women give their hands. The men struck him as small in stature, but bold and forward in temper. The lower orders he pronounces poor, and destitute of refinement. He comments on the scarcity of timber, asserting that in Scotland there are two distinct countries—the one cultivated, and the other forest—and thus bears out the inference from the Rhymer's words, "when Lothian is a forest," &c. The towns he describes as lacking walls, the houses as for the most part built without lime. In the country the roofs are formed of turf, and, in the case of meaner dwellings, an ox-hide takes the place of a door. The horses are amblers ("hobblers"), small, guiltless of grooming, and managed without bits. He makes the mistaken assertion that there are no wolves in the country, and is also wrong in a statement regarding rooks—against which, on account of damage to the crops, a statute of this reign was directed.¹ He adds that nothing pleases the Scots more than to listen to abuse of the English.

James's figuratively-expressed programme for a reign of peace and plenty demanded time for its execution, and this first essential was denied him. But, at the expense of drastic measures, his twelve years' administration was strictly in keeping with his intentions at the outset, and to its fertility in enactments for the preservation of order in the country at large may be probably ascribed the uneventfulness of its character on the Border. March meetings at Redden² or

¹ Hume Brown's *Early Travellers*, p. 27.

² On July 26, 1426, Sir Robert Umfraville, conservator of the truces between England and Scotland, is paid the sum of £100 as repayment of his expenses on march days, and reward for his attendance next march day, "to be held at Reddenburn Tuesday next after St Peter *ad vincula*" (Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 205).

Hadden provided that that district should share in the general pacification at home ; whilst a threatened outbreak with England—the result of one of those *rapprochements* with France which were always dangerous—was averted by the good offices of Cardinal Beaufort, the queen's uncle.¹ At this period a very lax sense of order still prevailed at sea, and it is now that we begin to hear of cases in which property had been seized on shipboard between Humber and Forth being dealt with at march meetings.² The details of enactments against offences of this class fall, however, without our province. In the end of the year 1429 a new truce was concluded on the basis of the existing one, with the addition of a clause directed against fugitives between the two countries who fled from the penalties of treason or rebellion.³

The new truce was to last for five years, and—what is much more remarkable—did so. During that time the Scottish Borderers seem to have come within measurable distance of realising their darling wish to recover their ancient boundaries. Under the weak rule of Henry VI., England, feeling that she was fast losing her foothold in France, became additionally anxious to insure herself against hostilities from Scotland, and with this object even offered to sacrifice Roxburgh, Berwick, and the whole of the annexed territory. But James was not a Borderer, and the high view which he took of his obligations to France—now allied to him by the contract between his little daughter and the prince who was afterwards Louis XI.—forbade him to entertain the proposal. John of Fogo, Abbot of Melrose, is represented as taking a leading part in the debate on the subject, urging strongly the acceptance of the English

¹ Commissioned under the Great Seal, February 5, 1428-29, to go from York to the Scottish march, there to confer personally with the King of Scots on "certain great and weighty affairs touching the honour and good of the king's realm (Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 210).

² Ridpath, p. 392 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

offer.¹ Peace could now hardly be expected to last much longer on the Borders, and accordingly in September 1435 we hear of an English force under Sir Robert Ogle and Henry Percy being defeated by Douglas, Earl of Angus,² at Piperden, on the Breamish, not far from Cheviot.³ The circumstances which provoked the outbreak are not apparent, but it seems that the English were the aggressors.

The Scottish success at Piperden was followed up by a siege of Roxburgh, conducted by the king in person, with every means that might ensure success. For this purpose there was a general levy of the entire male population between the ages of sixteen and sixty, excepting only shepherds and cattle-keepers, the servants of ecclesiastics, and such others as might be excused on the score of merit or necessity.⁴ In this manner an enormous force was assembled. The chronicler of Pluscarden and the continuator of Fordun agree in estimating the number of the men-at-arms at 200,000, and the latter adds that of other orders there were as many more. As these are not mentioned by the authority first named, it is conceivable that neither estimate may be distinguished by accuracy. Borderers must now have looked on the desired fortress as at last within their grasp; but once more were they doomed to disappointment. The investment went on for a fortnight without result, the defence being ably conducted by Sir Ralph Grey. At the end of that time, after losing many cannon and mortars, with gun-

¹ Fordun, lib. xvi. cap. 23; Pluscarden, lib. xi. cap. 6.

² William, second earl (1402-1437), was son of George Douglas, who had been created Earl of Angus by Robert III. in 1389. The first earl was the son of William, first Earl of Douglas and Mar, and so brother to the hero of Otterburn (*The Douglas Book*, vol. ii. pp. 17-24).

³ Veitch, arguing from allusions to "King Harry" and "King Jamie," maintains that certain circumstances of the battle of Piperden are mixed with those of Otterburn in the ballad of "Chevy Chase" (*Border History and Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 136).

⁴ Fordun, lib. xvi. cap. 26.

powder and the general apparatus of a siege, the army was abruptly disbanded. This surprising fiasco has been variously explained. The Pluscarden book attributes it to faction among the nobles; Ridpath, following Harding, to the queen's discovery of a plot against her husband's life. Both stories may be founded on the truth. The king's severities had rendered him unpopular among his nobility, and if there were mischief brewing, his position in their midst at Roxburgh would be one of great danger. His present retreat could not, however, save him, and when the blow came it was through a channel little suspected. At Roxburgh he had appointed his kinsman Robert Stewart, a grandson of the Earl of Athole, to the post of Constable of the army, and to Robert Stewart is imputed the treachery of leaving the doors of the king's lodging defenceless on the night of the murder at the Black Friars' of Perth.¹

James I. was a poet, and one of the poems sometimes ascribed to him treats of a Border theme. Into the question of the authenticity of 'Peebles to the Play' it is not our business here to enter at length; suffice it to say that Professor Veitch makes out a fairly strong case for James's authorship,² whilst Professor Skeat holds that the poem now known to us can be at the best but an imitation of one by the king, and when its language, style, and metre are considered, must be assigned to a date at least half a century after 1437.³ Veitch seeks to strengthen his own arguments by reference to the intimate knowledge of Peebles and its environs which must have been acquired by the king, who was an ardent sportsman, on hunting expeditions in

¹ Contemporary Account of the Murder of James I., printed as an Appendix to Galt's 'Spaewife,' vol. iii. p. 293.

² History and Poetry, &c., vol. ii. p. 53 *et seq.*

³ The Kingis Quair (Scottish Text Society), Introduction, pp. xx-xxii.

Tweeddale—in which locality, to quote the Professor's words, his face would be as familiar as is now that of our gracious queen in Braemar and on Deeside. In this manner he could not but become conversant with the Tweedside vernacular, in which the poem in question is written, and—though his earlier work had been couched in a southern or Chaucerian dialect—would naturally adopt it as the vehicle of a local and popular theme. Linguistic anachronisms the Professor accounts for by the inaccuracy of copyists. The poem itself is a spirited and deftly rhymed description of a public holiday on Tweedside, the occasion being the spring festival of Beltane, celebrated on the 3rd May.¹ All the incidents of a rustic outing are poetically put before us much as we may see them at the hiring-fairs and other holidays of to-day. There is the rising with the peep of dawn, the bustle and excitement of preparation, congratulations on the fineness of the weather, catastrophes and *contretemps* of the feminine toilet. Then the procession of the youngers and maidens in full fig to the scene of action, and the impression produced by their finery on the sophisticated taste of the townspeople:—

“Than thai come to the townis end
 Withouttin more delai,
 He befoir, and scho befoir,
 To see quha was maist gay.
 All that lukit thame upon
 Leuche² fast at thair array :
 Sum said that thai were merkat³ folk ;
 Sum said the Quene of May
 Was cumit
 Of Peblis to the Play.”

Then we have a tavern scene worthy the brush of that serious humorist Jan Steen, with details minute, many of which re-

¹ Veitch, vol. ii. p. 53.

² Laughed.

³ Market.

main strangely unaltered to this day. The ordered of every-day are to-day the orderers :—

“Braid up the burde,¹ he byddis tyt ;²
 We ar all in ane trance—
 Se that our napré³ be quhyt,
 For we will dyn and daunce.”

Old-fashioned prudence has a word to say, suggesting that they should pay for everything as it is set before them, lest anything be overlooked. But the goodwife of the howff knows her business, and reassures them on that score. Then comes the reckoning :—

“He gat ane trincheour⁴ in his hand,
 And he began to compt ;
 Ilk man twa and ane happenie . . .
 To pay thus we war wount.”

A quarrel about nothing follows, with madder scenes as the feast turns to orgy, and at last drunkenness, the stocks, and shame for the uproarious :—

“Sevin-sum that the tulye⁵ maid,
 Lay gruffling in the stokks.
 John Jaksoun of the Nether-warde
 Had lever have giffen an ox,
 Or he had cuming in that cumpanie,
 He sware be Goddis lockkis,
 And mannis bayth,
 Of Peblis to the Play.”

Day is now at end, and it only remains for the fatuous young lovers to part from one another with exaggerated demonstrations of tenderness. The poem is as laughable as can well be, but is of value also for the light which it throws on the

¹ Put up the leaves of the table (Jamieson's Scot. Dict.)

² Soon.

³ Napery.

⁴ Trencher.

⁵ Brawl.

manners of the age and of the district. A delightful geniality united with keen observation of the broad humours of rustic life pervades it, and, if internal evidence can settle the matter, proclaim it the work of the same hand, royal or not, which wrote 'Christ's Kirk on the Green.'

The second of the Peebles classics—'The Three Tales of the Three Priests of Peebles'—is of unidentified authorship. A chance allusion in the poem would seem to date it as having been written before the expulsion of the Moors from Spain in 1491, and Professor Veitch inclines to attribute it to the reign of James III. The Introduction puts before us a picture of three well-to-do priests met in Peebles on St Bride's Day (February 1), to enjoy an excellent dinner beside a roaring hearth in a secluded chamber. Over the good cheer and the liquor they fall to story-telling, and thus furnish the matter of the poem. The stories told are entertaining enough, and being essentially didactic in purpose, though cast in verse, may be classed with the monkish tales of the 'Gesta Romanorum' and similar collections. But for us—as was the case with the poem considered above—their value lies in the striking pictures of local and contemporary life which they incidentally present. Take, for instance, the account of the various steps in the rise of a wealthy burgess. We are shown how, from trudging through all weathers between town and town, with but a "hap, a halfpenny, and a lamb's skin," by dint of economy and attention to business he first arrives at acquiring "ane meikil stalwart hors" to bear his pack. A home on wheels follows, with "Flanders coffers, counteris, and kist." But soon it is no longer necessary for him to travel at all. He buys a shop, deals in wool,¹ and does so to such good

¹ The traffic in wool between the two kingdoms was carefully regulated by treaty (*Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 688).

purpose that ere long we find him trading beyond seas. A wealthy marriage is followed by the purchase of a ship of his own, and ere we take leave of him his "copburde" alone contains £3000—or, as we should say in modern parlance, there is a balance of that amount to his private banker's account. A silver basin now holds the water in which he washes his hands, and he disports himself on Sundays in rich gowns of silk. His week-day wear is "grene and gray," whilst his wife goes "cumly cled in scarlet reid."¹

The above description is introduced to illustrate the answer to a question asked by the king in one of the stories, Why burgess families thrive not to the third generation? The answer is, that the heirs begin not at the point where their sires began—"thairfor that lichtlie cums wil lichtlie ga"; and we have pictures of the insolent extravagance, united with incapacity, of a *parvenu* youth—overdressed, pampered out of manhood by his mother, blushing at the lightest allusion to his father's small beginnings, with servants ever at his beck to save him all labour, dissipated, and wholly unable to put his hand to any useful task.

After this we are shown results of the abuse of ecclesiastical patronage—

"For, now-on-dayes, is nouthar riche nor pure
Sal get ane kirk al throw his literature,"

and of what must be likened to the too-familiar "agricultural

¹ Interesting traces of the family life of a rich Tweeddale burgess of the middle of the seventeenth century may still be seen in the town of West Linton, where the carven effigy of "Lady Gifford"—then the leading lady of the place—adorns the town well; whilst a handsome chimneypiece carved by her husband, a master mason, with his own hand, has been removed to Spitalhaugh House. In the main street of the town an interesting mural relief (unfortunately not protected from the weather) gives representations of various members of the family.

depression " of late years.¹ The husbandman's present-day lot is contrasted with that of the good old times :—

" Sumtyme quhen husbandmen went to the weir,
They had ane jack, ane bow, or els ane speir :
And now befor quhair thay had ane bow,
Ful faine he is on bak to get ane fow.²
And, for ane jak, ane raggit cloke has tane ;
Ane sword, sweir out, and roustie for the rain."

We are beginning, even, to hear of the " depopulation of the rural districts " :—

" Thus ar the husbandis dytit ³ al but dout ;⁴
And heryit ⁵ quyte away al round about."

The peasantry are the chief sufferers, but of course the nobles come in for their share of the agrarian distress, and we have the moral and material decadence thence arising in old families described. All this is obviously drawn from the life, and serves to show us that many social symptoms which we are accustomed to connect exclusively with modern times were already well developed in the fifteenth century. In every age there is probably a tendency unduly to disparage the present by contrasting the worst in it with the best in a past epoch. It is to this tendency, doubtless, that we owe the fiction of a Golden Age. On the other hand, it is perhaps equally undeniable that every phase of society as it passes away carries with it something that we have good reason to regret.

¹ In the fifteenth century, however, this is attributed, not to foreign competition or excessive fiscal burdens on the land, but to abuses in the law-courts.

² *Fow* is perhaps a knapsack, but according to Pinkerton a club (Glossary to Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry).

³ Indited.

⁴ Without doubt.

⁵ Harried.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW PROVISIONS IN THE TRUCE OF 1438—THE DOUGLASES: ARCHIBALD, FIFTH EARL; HIS SON, WILLIAM, THE SIXTH EARL; CHARACTER AND FATE—"GROSS JAMES"—THE POWER OF THE FAMILY REACHES ITS HEIGHT IN EARL WILLIAM; HIS ESTATES AND INFLUENCE ON THE BORDERS; HIS MURDER BY JAMES II. IN STIRLING CASTLE—WARS WITH THE BLACK DOUGLASES—THEIR DOWNFALL—THE SCOTTS PROFIT THEREBY—END OF THE LAST EARL OF DOUGLAS—DOINGS ON THE BORDERS—NEW REGULATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE MIDDLE MARCHES—SIEGE OF ROXBURGH CASTLE—DEATH OF JAMES II.—CAPTURE AND DEMOLITION OF THE CASTLE—MODERN DEPREDATORS—BORDERERS IN THE WARS OF THE ROSES—BORDER LAWS (THIRD SERIES)—SELFISH CHARACTER OF DOUGLAS'S AMBITION—THE TRUCE STRAINED TO BREAKING-POINT ON THE BORDERS—CHARACTER OF JAMES III.—BORDERERS UNDER ANGUS AND HOME TAKE PART IN THE REBELLION—ARCHIBALD, EARL OF ANGUS, "BELL-THE-CAT"—THE DOUGLASES LOSE LIDDESDALE AND HERMITAGE—NEW TREATY WITH ENGLAND—PERKIN WARBECK ON THE BORDERS—A ROYAL MARRIAGE DESTINED TO AFFECT THE BORDERS—THE RISE OF MOSS-TROOPING—CAUSES WHICH LED UP TO FLODDEN—BLOOD-FEUD OF KER OF FERNIHIRST AND THE HERONS OF FORD—BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

IN 1438 commissioners of the two countries, meeting in London, concluded a new truce which was to last nine years. It contained one new clause of great significance to the Borders—to wit, an enactment which made it unlawful for the inhabitants of the one country to enter the lands, woods, or warrens of any inhabitant of the other, for purposes of fishing, hunting, or fowling.¹ There was also a provision

¹ The unknown minstrel of "Chevy Chase" has mixed up traditions of offences against this Act with his records of Otterburn and Piperden. The name Chevy Chase, however, is derived simply from *chevache*, the old name for a raid.

to prevent persons injured by the trespassing of sheep or cattle upon their corn or grass from taking the law into their own hands; and a further one for fixing the bounds within which the garrison of Roxburgh Castle should have rights of mowing, grazing, and fuel. The traffic in wool between the two countries was subjected to stringent regulation.¹

The story of the growing arrogance of the house of Douglas, and of the successive tragedies by which its downfall was effected, though rising far above the region of merely local history, is yet too intimately connected with the Borders to be here passed over. Among the high-handed acts by which James I. had incurred the enmity of his nobles, perhaps there was none less defensible than his forfeiture of the Earl of March.² It will be remembered that the elder George of Dunbar had been reinstated in his possessions by Albany, and it is difficult not to suspect the king of animus when, after the lapse of years, he took it upon him to declare that in so doing the regent had exceeded his powers. But what is here to the point is the fact that, in thus destroying the balance of power on the Borders, James acted with far less than his usual judgment; for the disappearance of March left Douglas without a rival.

To "Tineman" had succeeded his son Archibald, Earl of Wigtown, who thus became fifth Earl of Douglas. In the Parliament of 1438 Earl Archibald is mentioned as lieutenant-general of the kingdom,³ by virtue of which office he seems to have had the young king under his special care. In

¹ Ridpath, p. 402 *et seq.*; *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 688; *Rotuli*, vol. ii. p. 305.

² Scots Acts, vol. ii. p. 23, A.D. 1434; Pluscarden, lib. xi. cap. 6.

³ Scots Acts, vol. ii. p. 31.

the intrigues and disputes to which the custody of the king's person afterwards gave rise, the minority of James II. recalls that of Alexander III., but whilst Douglas lived we hear of no such rivalry. He took a leading part in public affairs, his influence being beneficially exerted in the passing of parliamentary measures, as well as in the arrangement of the truce with England which has been already referred to. Unfortunately that influence was destined to be too soon withdrawn, for the earl succumbed to a fever in June 1439. Shortly before his death we hear of his sojourning at his castle of Newark in the Forest, having Sir William Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland, in his company.¹

He was succeeded by his son William, a lad of not more than eighteen years.² But, young as he was, the sixth earl seems to have been already fully conscious of the greatness of his position. He has been credited with a policy altogether beyond his years, and at the same time charged with harbouring the dreams of a wild ambition. More credible, however, is the theory which would trace the allegations against him to his insolent splendour and the extravagance of his retinue. At any rate, "records of the

¹ The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 419. The reference is to a charter of the lands of Primside, in Sprouston, to Andrew Ker of Attonburn, dated at Newark Castle, 4th May 1439, and witnessed by the Chancellor and by John Turnbull of Langton, Constable of the castle.

² The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 424, gives his age as fourteen; the Auchinleck Chronicle, quoted in a note on the same page, says eighteen. It appears that the figures of the latter are not always to be depended upon; but, where authorities differ, inherent probability must be allowed its due weight. In the same year the earl was a member of the General Council, which sat at Stirling, and sanctioned the agreement between the queen and Livingston touching the custody of the king. Neither this nor any of the few other facts recorded of him—letting alone the damaging assertions of Pitscottie (ed. 1728, p. 7)—seems possible of a boy of fourteen.

time impute no crime to the earl,"¹ who was probably a victim or a scapegoat rather than a traitor or a criminal. For, blameless or not, it is easy to see that in certain quarters there might well be powerful reasons for desiring his decease. A succession of remarkably able men—distinguished specially for that military prowess which in those days won the warmest and speediest recognition—had raised the reputation of his family to the very highest pitch. And, meantime, increase in power and possessions had fully kept pace with reputation. In this respect, indeed, nobody had been more fortunate than the otherwise luckless fourth earl. Then it had not been forgotten in the country that in the Douglasses was now vested the Comyn claim to the crown. These facts being taken in conjunction with the character and youth of the present head of the house, it would be by no means surprising if two such scheming statesmen as Crichton and Livingston, though opposed in other matters, should agree as to the desirability of clearing the ground by his removal.

Historical details regarding his fate are meagre. Inveigled to Edinburgh Castle by a friendly invitation from the king, he was subjected by Crichton to a sham trial in the royal presence, and being condemned, was led into the courtyard, and there beheaded, together with his brother David, who had accompanied him. On his way to Edinburgh he had been the guest of the Chancellor at Crichton Castle, and the degree of false security with which the latter had succeeded in inspiring him is shown by the fact that though his retinue would often number more than 1000, he had with him on this occasion but a single attendant, Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, who shared his fate. Pitscottie describes the

¹ The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 427.

earl as receiving his first intimation that foul play was intended from the placing before him, at the conclusion of a banquet, of a black bull's head set on a charger.¹

On the death of the sixth earl and his brother without issue in 1439, the earldom reverted to the second son of Earl Archibald the Grim—James, Earl of Avondale and Lord Balvany, from his corpulence known as "Gross James." The estates were divided—those on the Border, including Liddesdale and Jed Forest, accompanying the title, whilst those in the north and west, being unentailed, passed to Margaret, only sister of the murdered nobleman, who was known as the "Fair Maid of Galloway." It was thus to greatly curtailed possessions that the seventh earl succeeded, whilst it is probable that his age and habit of body were deemed sufficient security for his inoffensiveness. During the three years for which he held the title he seems to have made no effort to avenge the murder of his grand-nephews, contenting himself with arranging to reunite the Douglas estates by the marriage of his eldest son with the Fair Maid. Godscroft² speaks of him as having held the office of warden of all the marches.

It was in the person of William, the eighth earl, that the power of the Douglasses reached its height, and between him and King James II. that the duel between the Crown and the feudal baronage of Scotland may be said to have been fought out. The relations of the antagonists were at the outset of the friendliest. Almost immediately on his succession the earl seems to have attracted the attention of the king, after which his rise in the royal favour was extraordinarily rapid. He soon enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing Crichton

¹ History of Scotland, p. 17; Major, book vi. p. 18.

² Vol. i. p. 294, ed. 1743.

—the mortal foe of his family — disgraced, whilst he was himself appointed to the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom. His brothers Archibald, Hugh, and John, became respectively Earl of Moray, Earl of Ormond, and Lord of Balvany, whilst Sir James Hamilton and others of his adherents were advanced to be lords of Parliament. His marriage with the Maid of Galloway, which, though retarded by difficulties as to kinship, was now an accomplished fact, had given him command of the undiminished Douglas estates, and he now enjoyed a position of greatness such as had never before been attained by any nobleman in Scotland. This position he held unchallenged for seven or eight years. At the end of that time there was a momentary misunderstanding with James; but in 1451, on submitting himself to the royal will, he was confirmed in the possession of all his offices, lands, and castles, with remainder to his four brothers and their heirs-male.¹ As regards the Borders alone, these confirmatory grants comprised the wardenship of the Middle and West Marches, the Forests of Ettrick and Selkirk, Sprouston, Hawick, Bedrule, Smailholm, and Brondon in the county of Roxburgh, and Romanno, Kingsmeadow, and Glenwhim in that of Peebles, besides Lauderdale and Eskdale.² Yet these were but a small part of the earl's total possessions, and do not of course include those of his brothers. During these years he was constantly in the king's company at Court or elsewhere, and his name appears as witness to nearly every royal charter. Meantime we hear of him incidentally on the Borders as freeing the monks of Melrose from his jurisdiction as lord of the

¹ The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 468.

² Ibid., p. 469, note. From the reference to "Primside in Sprouston," p. 195, note, it is evident that Douglas's Sprouston estate extended far beyond the limits of the *parish* of Sprouston, comprising as it did part of Yetholm parish, with doubtless the intervening parish of Linton.

Forest, and as holding his baron's court in the great hall of Newark.¹

Notwithstanding his reconciliation with the king, it would appear that Douglas now thought it desirable to strengthen his position, with which object he entered upon an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the powerful Earl of Crawford, sometimes called the "Tiger Earl." This was probably intended as a counterpoise to the influence of Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, and his coadjutor, Crichton the Chancellor—the latter of whom, having retrieved his old position, seems to have availed himself of an absence of Douglas in Rome to prejudice the king's mind against him. Various cruel, overweening, and high-handed acts are now alleged against the earl. Among others he is accused of endeavouring to seduce the barons of the Border—where, in Godscroft's words, "he commanded, and might command indeed"²—from their allegiance to the king. The same writer asserts, however, that he suffered from having the acts of the Border thieves (of whom we now begin to hear) laid at his door, and tells us that his following on the Border was so large that his enemies dubbed him the Captain of the Thieves. At least it is satisfactory to find that the latest authority³ decides to reject the too well-known story—first told by the unreliable Pitscottie—of his hurrying on the execution of the Tutor of Bombie whilst he detained the king's messenger at dinner, and then, in compliance with the royal mandate contained in a sealed missive, delivering up the body of his captive—headless. The question for us to decide is whether the retribution which now befell him is to be regarded as the act of justice or of jealousy, and the majority will probably

¹ The Douglas Book, vol. i. pp. 459, 460.

² Vol. i. p. 299.

³ The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 471.

decide in favour of the latter.¹ In either case the manner of that retribution was indefensible.

To give James his due, there is no ground for suspecting that his bloody act was premeditated. With the amplest and most formal assurances of safety, he summoned Douglas to attend him at Stirling Castle. The invitation went under the Great Seal, and he would be a charitable rather than a sagacious judge who should acquit the proved traitor Crichton of treacherous intentions in it. On obeying the summons, the earl was courteously received and entertained. Supper over, the king broached the points at issue between himself and his subject, Douglas at first dutifully deferring to him. But when the bond with Crawford was brought up, things went less smoothly. The king charged Douglas on his loyalty to forego it, which Douglas declined to do—at least until he should have advertised his confederate. Words then waxed high, and the earl persisting in his refusal to break the alliance, the king suddenly started to his feet, exclaiming, “False traitor, if thou wilt not, I will!” and, drawing his dagger, twice stabbed his guest—unarmed, or at least unprepared, as he was—in the body and in the neck. Sir Patrick Gray—to whom is assigned the *rôle* of the hoodwinked messenger in the Bombie incident—then struck Douglas on the head with a pole-axe, whilst others present took part in the vile carnage until the body was pierced with six-and-twenty wounds. It was then cast out to nameless burial. Such a deed could not pass unquestioned, and in the June following (1452) a special Act of Parliament

¹ According to Godscroft, the charges brought against Douglas by his enemies include the following: “That all the riches of the country were heaped upon one family; that there were so many great earls and barons of them that they had so much power and potency that the king reigned but by their licence and courtesy, as it were.”—History of the House of Douglas, vol. i. p. 322.

was passed to clear James of the charge of murder.¹ Justification was alleged on the ground, first, of Douglas's having forfeited the benefit of his safe-conduct; secondly, of his having conspired against the king; and, thirdly, of his having withstood the royal persuasions.

The fall of Earl William gave the deathblow to his house. He was succeeded by his brother James, who, being twin with Archibald, had some years before been formally adjudged the elder. James's reputation as a knight was of the highest, as had been proved by the coming of the *preux chevalier* De Lalain from Burgundy to Scotland especially to meet him in the lists. They fought *à l'outrance* in the royal presence, and the account of their combat forms one of the most circumstantial of contemporary narratives of chivalry.² It is said that Earl Douglas was present at the fight with from 4000 to 5000 retainers. But whatever his prowess in the tournament, the last earl, as he proved to be, did not show himself equal to the difficulties of his present situation. His conduct, as it emerges from the conflict of rival historians, abounds in inconsistency. He is said to have been at Stirling with his brothers when the murder was committed, and to have exhorted them with much spirit to a prompt revenge; but, for reasons insufficiently explained, a month was allowed to elapse before effective action was taken. This delay, the salvation of the king, was fatal to the Douglas. At the month's end, the brothers, with their adherent Lord Hamilton, assembled at the market-cross of Stirling, and, with a blast of five hundred horns and trumpets, proclaimed the king and all who had been plotters or authors of Earl William's death "perjured traitors to God and man." The king's safe-conduct, having the broad seal affixed, was

¹ Scots Acts, vol. ii. p. 73.

² See Early Travellers in Scotland, p. 30 *et seq.*

nailed to a board and dragged in contumely through the streets at the tail of a "spittle jade."¹ But the interval had given time for the popular odium excited by the king's crime to subside. Perhaps from impatience, when they found this was the case, the earl and his followers burnt and pillaged the town—thus committing a second error of judgment, for their true policy was to draw the people towards them against the king.

Meantime James had not been inactive. On March 2—little more than a fortnight after the murder—we find him at Jedburgh,² in the heart of the Douglas country, with what object can only be guessed. In May the power of Crawford, Douglas's principal ally, was crushed by the Earl of Huntly, after an obstinate battle near Brechin. Douglas himself, who, as the other great Border earl had been before him, was now in treaty with England, renounced his allegiance to his sovereign in a contemptuous document which he caused to be affixed by night to the door of the Parliament House. The king responded by marching through the Douglas country of Peebles, Selkirk, and Dumfries, destroying and harrying as he went. Whether in consequence of this demonstration or not, in August Douglas submitted—formally expressing his forgiveness and that of his brothers for the murder of Earl William, and binding himself for the future to enter into no league against his sovereign. To make the reconciliation more complete, the king now exerted himself to obtain a dispensation for the marriage of the earl with his brother's widow, thus seeming to interest himself in preserving the integrity of the estates. The earl was actually employed in public business, and it seemed that expediency had triumphed over both ambition and family

¹ Godscroft, vol. i. pp. 361, 362.

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1424-1513, p. 120.

feeling. In this manner two or three years passed, but so long as a Douglas remained in power the king found himself unable to rest. Conscious of his own treachery, he may have suspected — perhaps not without reason — the genuineness of his great subject's submission; or it is possible that he was but biding his time whilst, with the aid of his long-headed adviser Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, he won over the more powerful barons to himself. At any rate, ere long he resolved to strike another blow,¹ in the hope of thus for ever ending difficulties which had at one time appeared so overwhelming as almost to lead him to resign his kingdom.² Accordingly, in March 1455, having without warning seized and demolished Douglas's castle of Inveravon, near Linlithgow, he passed at the head of an army, by Lanark, where an encounter took place, through Douglasdale, Avondale, and Ettrick Forest, wasting as he went. He then besieged the castle of Abercorn. Douglas summoned his vassals, and marched to its relief. Hamilton, who as usual was with him, and whose lands had suffered in the recent raid, urged him to give battle without delay; but a scruple of loyalty, as unaccountable as it was ill-timed, is said to have held the earl inactive. Perhaps he already foresaw the end. After vain remonstrance, Hamilton, not stanch enough to share his leader's ruin, consulted his own safety by passing to the enemy. His defection was at once followed by that of the rest of Douglas's adherents. No course now remained open to the earl but to leave Abercorn to its fate; and when he fled for refuge to England it was with four or five, not 4000 or 5000, in his train.

The last act of the tragedy still remained to play. The

¹ The Douglas Book, vol. i. p. 487.

² This remarkable assertion is made by Major, book vi. chap. 18.

earl's three brothers sought to rally their adherents on the Border, but met with many disappointments. Nevertheless, on May 1, 1455, they attacked a royal army, composed of Scotts and members of other Border clans, and commanded, it is said, by Douglas, Earl of Angus. A battle was fought at Arkinholm, on the Ewes Water, where the town of Langholm now stands. The Douglasses were completely defeated. Moray was slain in the battle, his head being cut off and sent to the king; Ormond, who was made prisoner, was tried and executed; whilst Balvany escaped into England, only to meet his doom eight years later, when he was captured whilst endeavouring to promote a rising in the Douglas interest on the Border. A month or two after the battle the castle of Thrieve, the last stronghold of the Douglasses, capitulated.

On June the 10th and 11th, in a Parliament held at Edinburgh, Acts of forfeiture were passed against the earl, Balvany, and the countess-dowager.¹ In August the earl and his brother were outlawed, all persons being forbidden to "resett, house, or herbry, support or supply them in any manner." The jurisdiction of the warden of the marches over cases of treason was at the same time abolished, and heritable wardenships were declared illegal.² Thus at last was recognised the extreme danger to a State of the too-powerful Border chieftain, whose local position enables him, if so minded, to hold out a standing menace to his sovereign, whilst it endows his retainers with an aptitude and training in warfare unattainable by clans in more central and secure situations. The power of the Black Douglasses was now entirely broken, and, indeed, this—the main—branch of the

¹ Scots Acts, vol. ii. p. 42; Appendix, p. 75.

² On July 8, 1451, William, Earl of Douglas, had been confirmed in the wardenship of the West and Middle Marches, the office being secured to his heirs-male in fee and heritage for ever (Reg. Mag. Sig., 1424-1513, p. 107).

family wanted little of becoming extinct; for both the earl and Balvany were childless, whilst Ormond's only son was a priest, who eventually became Dean of Brechin. Moray also left an only son, but his history, says 'The Douglas Book,' "has not been traced." The possessions of the Douglasses passed to the Crown, sufficing to furnish forth many a Border family who rose upon their fall. Among these were the Scotts of Kirkurd, afterwards of Buccleuch. For his services against the Douglasses at Arkinholm and elsewhere, the head of the family, Sir Walter Scott, received, in 1458, a charter of lands in the barony of Crawfordjohn.¹ Again, in 1463, with his son David, he was granted the remaining half of the barony of Branhholm, to be held blench for the payment of a red rose on the Nativity of St John. The latter charter further confirms to the family the lands of Lempitlaw, Elrig, Rankleburn, Kirkurd, Eckford, Whitcheater, and part of Langtoun, all on account of the same services.²

During the next eight-and-twenty years, which he spent in England, the fugitive earl had ample time to deplore the results of his own indecision of character. At length, weary of exile, he joined the malcontent Albany, brother of King James III., in a desperate endeavour to rouse the Borders. Their hope was that the name of Douglas would stir recollections of past glories; but a generation had grown up which knew not Joseph, and the attempt was a signal failure. Riding towards Lochmaben, the intruders were attacked by a band of Borderers. Albany escaped, but Douglas, aged and unrecognised, allowed himself to be made prisoner. Alexander Kirkpatrick, a former dependent of his own, to whom he surrendered, is said to have wept when he beheld the changes wrought by time and circumstance in his

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig., 1424-1513, p. 146.

² Ibid., p. 165.

old master. He offered to flee with him to England, but Douglas declined his offer, merely stipulating that his own life should if possible be saved. This was conceded by the king, from whom Kirkpatrick also received the reward which had been promised for the capture of his master. An asylum was provided for the earl in the abbey of Lindores, to which he resigned himself with the observation that "he that may no better be, must be a monk." There he lingered until his death in 1488. All this, however, is of course anticipatory.

Outside the engrossing history of the house of Douglas there are few events to tell of on the Borders during this reign. There was little warfare with England, the nine years' truce of the commencement of the reign being by subsequent negotiations extended, first to 1454, then to 1457, and finally to 1461.¹ But of course it would have been too much to expect that these truces should remain entirely inviolate. In 1448 dissensions among the marchmen led to an outbreak of hostilities, in which three of the brothers Douglas—William, James, and Hugh, but especially the last-named—distinguished themselves in reprisals made upon the English at Alnwick and Warkworth, and in the battle of Sark. Indeed it has been suggested that one of James's motives for avoiding war with England was fear of the distinction likely to be gained therein by the Douglasses.

During this and following years successive meetings were held for the regulation of international affairs, and it is to 1449 that the second code of Border laws belongs.² What is chiefly noticeable, however, is the official recognition at this time that the wardens of the marches were not on all occasions to be depended on to do their duty; and, of course, where they were so inclined, great opportunities for

¹ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv., Introduction, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv.

² *Leges Marchiarum*, p. 7.

the abuse of justice lay in their hands. Within a limited district they exercised almost sovereign power, and in a region where clan feeling ran so high, the temptation to show undue severity to an enemy, or undue favour to a friend, was sometimes too much for them.¹ Provision was therefore made for checking their proceedings, and those of their lieutenants and deputies, by members of the Councils of the respective kingdoms.² A defect in the system of bale-fires, revealed on the occasion of the recent English incursion, was rectified by an Act of Parliament, which ordained that the fords of Tweed should be regularly watched, and that the approach of an enemy should be announced by the kindling of beacons on the nearest heights. A single fire was to give warning of suspected danger; two to announce the actual advance of the foe; whilst four—arranged in line, and all flaming together—indicated that great numbers were approaching.³ An alarm first raised at Hume would be communicated to Edgarhope Castle, thence to Soutra Edge, and so on to Edinburgh, Fife, and Stirling. On this, all fighting men to the west of Edinburgh were to draw to that city, and all to the east of it to Haddington. Burgesses whose towns had been passed by the advancing army on their march were to pursue it.⁴ Another statute provided for the stationing on the Middle Marches (those with which we are here specially concerned) of 200 men-at-arms and as many archers, to be maintained at the expense of the lords, barons, and freeholders of the country, who were to be assessed for the purpose. Owners of land near the Border were further required

¹ Armstrong's History of Liddesdale, p. 6.

² Ridpath, p. 410; Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 252. See also note 1, p. 237 *infra*.

³ "Four balis ilkane besyde uthar and all at anys as four candills salbe suthfast knalege that thai ar of gret powers and menys."

⁴ Scots Acts, vol. ii. p. 44, A.D. 1455.

to make their dwellings as capable as might be of defence, to provide men qualified for military service, and to have their horses and arms in readiness for attendance on their chief, or warden, when required.¹

It will be remembered that Roxburgh and Berwick still remained in the hands of the English. England was now divided by the Wars of the Roses, and James II., though otherwise peaceably inclined, seems to have seen in her internal dissensions an irresistible opportunity of striking a blow for himself. Bishop Leslie tells the story otherwise, representing James as fighting in the Lancastrian interest, or at least in that interest combined with his own;² but this version is disproved by Henry VI.'s mandate to the Earl of Salisbury, charging him to raise the northern and midland counties to resist the King of Scotland, who had entered England and laid siege to Roxburgh and Berwick.³ The siege of Roxburgh received an accession of interest from the arrival of the Lord of the Isles with a large following of Highlanders and Islanders, armed in the Highland fashion with "halbershownes" (or short coats of chain mail), bows, and axes, and vaunting their willingness, in amends for past misdeeds, to march a mile ahead of the king's forces into England, and take the brunt of the first meeting with the enemy.⁴ The advent of these and other auxiliaries led to redoubled efforts on the part both of attackers and defenders. The fighting was of a transitional character, the newer and more deadly class of projectile not having yet supplanted the

¹ Scots Acts, vol. ii. p. 45.

² Leslie's History of Scotland (Dalrymple's translation, 1596), book viii. p. 79 (Scottish Text Society). Leslie speaks of the second castle as Wark.

³ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 266. The paper bears date August 12, when James was already dead.

⁴ Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xi. p. 369, ed. Schouten, 1697.

older one, as is shown by recent orders for supplying the garrison of Roxburgh with "100 bows and 200 sheaves of arrows," as well as with "cannons, artillery, and powder."¹ We know that James II. was an amateur and expert in the use of the latter. In his wars with the Douglasses he had personally directed the attack on Abercorn, where heavy ordnance was brought to bear on the castle, whilst it is generally believed that the great cannon known as Mons Meg was constructed, if not actually for his siege of Thrieve, at least during his reign. This was a kinglike taste, but its gratification was to cost him dear. He had posted a battery on the north side of Tweed, in what are now the pleasure-grounds of Floors Castle, and thither, on Sunday, August 3, 1460, he repaired to superintend the firing of a great gun which had been christened the Lion. As to the precise nature of the accident which followed, there is divergence of statement. One authority says circumstantially that the gun burst through the powder having found its way into some cleft or crack; another limits the accident to the flying off from the piece, as it was discharged, of a "wedge or slice"—which, on the whole, appears the more probable. In either case, the king, who was standing injudiciously near, received a blow which broke his thigh-bone, killing him on the spot. The Earl of Angus, who stood beside him, was also seriously injured, but no other person was struck. It is traditionally supposed that a thorn-tree at Floors marks the spot where the king fell. Though he had reigned three-and-twenty years, he was but in the thirtieth year of his age.²

As soon as they had assured themselves of the king's

¹ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. pp. 222, 223, 234. Bows and arrows continued in use on the Borders until a very much later date.

² Leslie, book viii. p. 81; Buchanan, lib. xi. p. 369; Ridpath, p. 412; &c.

death, the bystanders covered the body, dreading lest the report of the accident, if rashly communicated, should create a panic in the camp; and, if Leslie is to be trusted, there seem to have been good grounds for these fears, for James possessed to the full the Stewart aptitude for popularity. When in due course the catastrophe was made public, the historian tells us that the people lamented his death "with no lesse sorowe and deulfull meane, nor is sene in ane private house for the decesse of the wel-beloved maister and awner thair of; for in tyme of weare amang his subjectis in the campe, he behaveth himselfe so gentlie towardis all menne, that they semed nocht to feare him as thaire King, bot to reverence and love him like a fader; he wald ryde up and downe amangis thame, and eate and drinke with thame, even as he had bene bot ane private man and fellowe."¹

The royal remains were conveyed to Holyrood for interment. But this was no time for unavailing grief. The widowed queen, Mary of Gueldres, herself set a noble example of fortitude and patriotism. Stifling her private sorrow, she appeared in the camp in person, and exhorting the chiefs not to relax their efforts against the castle, presented to them her eight-year-old son as the king who should fill his father's place. Her heroic bearing roused her hearers to enthusiasm, and they continued the assault to such good purpose that the garrison were soon happy to capitulate. Roxburgh Castle had been in possession of the English since the battle of Neville's Cross, more than a hundred years before, and was now generally felt to be a source of too much danger and uncertainty to be allowed to remain standing. It was therefore demolished by the captors, as Jedburgh had been before it. The child king was crowned in Kelso Abbey by the

¹ Bannatyne Club ed., p. 32.

name of James III., with the unanimous consent of the three Estates, and great rejoicing of the assembled army and people.

The years now following were unusually uneventful in the Border counties. The Wars of the Roses still kept England's hands full, whilst the seat of much of the war being near to the Border probably drew off a great part of the superfluous martial energy which might have bred disturbance at home. Many Borderers from both sides the marches fought on the Lancastrian side at Towton and Hedgeley Moor, but they did so in a private capacity; whilst the good guidance of Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, who now held the helm of affairs, kept the government of the country neutral, except in so far as mere sympathy was concerned. To which side that sympathy leaned none knew better than Edward IV., who, fully conscious of the importance which Scotland might yet develop as a factor in the struggle, did his best to undermine her by means of intrigues with the exiled Douglas and the Lord of the Isles. It cannot have escaped the reader that had Douglas been a patriot or even a loyalist at heart, he had had it in his power to render great services to his country by acting as a bulwark against invasion. But his degeneracy from the best of his forebears must be acknowledged; and the purely personal character of his ambition is illustrated by the readiness with which he now embraced a proposal that he should hold his estates under Edward, when the latter, having conquered Scotland, should have restored them to him.¹ The scheme did not stop here, but went on to allot to him the whole of Scotland south of the Firth of Forth, whilst the Earl of Ross and of the Isles was to receive the remainder.

¹ Ridpath, p. 425; *Fœdera*, vol. xi. pp. 484, 492.

It was probably to Kennedy's influence also that was due a truce which was concluded in 1463¹ for fifteen years, but soon afterwards extended to 1519.² As regards the marches, the most important new provisions of this agreement are—first, one for further limiting and checking the powers of the wardens, by extending the right of appeal from their jurisdiction to that of a committee of members of council;³ and secondly, a provision enacting that every person to whom a safe-conduct is granted shall be guaranteed by declaration to be no traitor or rebel. The number of a party to whom a safe-conduct may be granted is also limited to three, from which one may infer that the liberality with which (as the pages of the Rotuli and Calendars show) these licences had hitherto been accorded had been abused. Meantime it would be by no means safe to assume that peace reigned undisturbed on the Borders. Though the two kingdoms were in amity, the Borderers had not forgotten their predatory habits, and what was no longer demanded by their country's interest was now carried on in their own. This is proved by the charge made against King James's insubordinate brother, Albany, that, whilst as warden of the marches it had been his duty to protect England from injury, he had actually taken part in Border

¹ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. pp. 272-274.

² Ibid., pp. 276, 277.

³ *Leges Marchiarum*, p. 39: "In quo quidem casu" (*i.e.*, that of a complaint properly formulated), "Rex sic informatus, et cui talis conquestio facta sit, bis (vel, ad minus, semel) in anno mittet tres aut duo de suo consilio, justiciæ et pacis amatores, ad aliquem locum convenientem prope Marchias, obviaturos totidem consimilibus de consilio Regis conquerentis, cum potestate sufficienti oneratos, non tantum ad puniendum delinquentes, super quibus conqueritur, juxta qualitatem delicti, verumetiam *ad inquirendum, examinandum, et investigandum, si Conservatores dictarum abstinentiarum Gardiani, eorum loca tenentes aut deputati, negligentes fuerint aut remissi in executione justitiæ partibus conquerentibus, quos etiam punire, corrigere, et emendare habebunt potestatem, si per talem inquisitionem, exactionem, et investigationem, culpabiles inventi sint aut remissi.*"

raids, by which the subjects of the King of England had been slaughtered and plundered ;¹ and, indeed, it has even been suggested that the payment in advance of the dowry of the English princess Cecilia, who had been betrothed to James's infant son, was in reality but a species of blackmail or bribe to the Government to restrain the Borderers and the country generally.²

In time the difficulties on the Border strained the truce almost to breaking, whilst the elaborate ordinances of frequent march meetings³ dealt with the situation ineffectually. Indeed it is easy to see that these march meetings were themselves felt to be a source of danger, for it is now enacted that men should attend them unarmed, or with no weapon but a sword or knife, whilst a limit is fixed to the number of the attendants of the wardens, their lieutenants and deputies. Things, nevertheless, got worse instead of better,⁴ and—discord being fomented on the English side by the renegade Albany, and on the Scottish by the practices of Louis XI.—the two nations were soon upon the brink of war. For the time the Pope's intervention stayed the outbreak, but special preparations for resisting attack continued to be made upon the Border—Hermitage Castle receiving a garrison of 100,

¹ "And also for art and part to the tresonable hurting violacioun and breking of the trewis and pece takin and confermit betuix our said sovrain lord and his bruder and cousing the king of Ingland be slauchter and hereschippis tresonabli committit contrary to the kingis hienes And to the comonn gud of his Realme be said Alexander being wardain in the samyn boundes for the tyme," &c.—Scots Acts, vol. ii. p. 126, A.D. 1479. A treaty of 1484 provided that a warden who committed depredations on the neighbouring kingdom should be declared a rebel.

² Hill Burton, vol. iii. p. 18.

³ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. pp. 281, 285, 286, 289.

⁴ By the beginning of 1482 Edward has had to send so many troops to the Borders to resist the "manyfold assaults and continuel werres" of the Scots, that the district is actually threatened with a scarcity of grain (Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 300).

under command of the Laird of Lamington, whilst the Laird of Edmonstoun commanded 60 in Cessford, 20 in Ormistoun, and 20 in Edgerstoun, and the Laird of Cranstoun 60 in Jedburgh, 20 in Cocklaw, and 20 in Dolphinston.¹

The story of the assembling of the levies of Scotland upon the Boroughmuir, of the march to Lauder, the meeting in the kirk which gave a nickname to Angus, and the shocking act of barbarity which immediately followed it, is well known; nor is it a part of the history of our counties. Suffice it to say, then, that the Scottish host was soon afterwards disbanded, whilst the English, after advancing as far as Edinburgh, retook Berwick on their return.² Albany, who was for a time reconciled to his brother, soon resumed his intrigues with England, which, however—owing to the death of Edward IV.—issued merely in the abortive attempt with Douglas at Lochmaben, which has been already described. During part of this time the king had been detained in duress. As a man born out of due place, season, and condition, James III. deserves some sympathy. In the Florence of that day he would have shone, leaving a name in history as an enlightened patron of the arts. But as recluse and peace-lover—one who “loved Solitariness and Desert, and never to hear of Wars, nor the Fame thereof, but . . . delighted more in Singing and Playing upon Instruments than he did in the defence of the Borders”—he remained *incompris* amid the elements of turbulence in which his lot was cast—a lot additionally imbittered by the hostility of those nearest to him, his brother and his son. If he abused the privileges of monarchy to do as he listed, he had to swim hard against the stream for it, and towards dire retribution. In the final rebellion which ended in his mysterious assassina-

¹ Ridpath, pp. 441, 442.

² Henry VI. had ceded Berwick to Scotland not long after the capture of Roxburgh.

tion at Sauchieburn, the Borderers under Angus and Home took the lead against him. A counter-rising against his successor, under the Earl of Lennox, was suppressed in a night engagement near Talla Moss.

With the downfall of the elder or "Black" branch of the Douglasses, the younger or "Red" branch, who had assisted in their ruin, and who were represented by the Earls of Angus, came to the front on the Borders. In 1485 the wily, sinuous, double-dealing Archibald "Bell-the-Cat" held the office of warden of the East and Middle Marches. In the first Parliament of the new reign he was appointed to exercise justice and preserve order in the shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles.¹ Henry VII. of England was at this time anxious to strengthen his own insecure position by any means which might offer. Angus was just the man for his purpose, and in 1491 we find the two in treaty. The document on which rests the evidence of the earl's baseness, though still preserved, is much defaced, but what remains legible suffices to reveal the part assigned to him in the agreement. This was to do his utmost to prevent war between the two countries, but, supposing that his efforts failed, to take the side of England, and to surrender Hermitage Castle—in exchange for which he should receive an equivalent.² It may be mentioned that as security to this bond, with the earl's son, we find the name of Robert Elwold (Elliot), son of Robert Elwold, younger, of Hermitage. The young king, James IV., seems to have got wind of this treaty; but Angus—who is known to have taken part in the royal amusements of dice and other games—had obtained an ascendancy over him. Accordingly, after a brief rupture, we

¹ Scots Acts, vol. ii. p. 208.

² Hill Burton, vol. iv. p. 39; The Douglas Book, vol. ii. p. 90; Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. pp. 416, 417, where the compromising document is given at length.

find the earl reinstated in the royal favour. The precaution — very necessary under the circumstances — was, however, taken of depriving him of the lordship of Liddesdale with Hermitage, which were bestowed on Patrick Hepburn, the recently created and therefore presumably reliable Earl of Bothwell.¹ Angus was indemnified by a grant of Bothwell in Lanarkshire, formerly a possession of the Black Douglasses. But as the family never regained Liddesdale and Hermitage, notwithstanding that they retained Eskdale and Ewesdale, their power on the Borders was henceforth much diminished.

The current truce—that of 1486—having expired (for of course the older one had been set aside), in 1491 a new one was arranged. In general outline it followed the model of its predecessors, containing, however, a special clause intended to restrain offences of a type which was probably very common on the Borders—*i.e.*, those of persons who, having suffered from spoliation, presumed to take the law into their own hands and spoil the spoiler. For some years before this letters of denization have been of growing frequency in the Calendar—whence the present treaty contains a provision aiming to make it impossible for the holders of these letters to use them to shield themselves from the just punishment of crimes. Of course there is nothing very new about these enactments; still they serve to illustrate the special class of difficulties which on the marches continued to beset the relations between the two countries. The truce was to be proclaimed in the principal places of the Border, and among the subscribers are the names of Angus and Bothwell.² At the last moment James, acting under French influence, boggled over the ratification, and certain non-essential modifications had to be introduced. It is about this time that the name of

¹ Charter printed in *The Douglas Book*, vol. iii. pp. 130, 131.

² *Ridpath*, pp. 461, 462.

Walter Ker of Cessford begins to appear, among those of the "ambassadors of the King of Scots,"¹ as that of a trusted intermediary.

We have seen that, with the change of circumstances, England was now, and had been for some time past, the party desiring peace, whilst Scotland could afford to display indifference on the subject. The meteoric apparition of the impostor Warbeck, and the powerful support which he received abroad, made Henry more than ever desirous to maintain the truce. Ridpath² does not hesitate to say that, to all intents and purposes, he paid for its continuance by his acknowledgment that the balance in the claims and counter-claims between the two kingdoms lay on the Scots' side of the account—which balance was forthwith paid.³ A truce for seven years was now concluded, but Henry's anxieties continued unallayed. The qualifications of the hapless and euphuistic lover of the "White Rose of Scotland" were of a kind to appeal to James IV., who, as we shall yet see, could carry the notions of knightly honour to the point of craze. He espoused Perkin's cause, and in 1496 we find the Earl of Surrey—Vice-Warden of the Mid Marches under the infant Arthur, Prince of Wales—commissioned, with the Bishop of Durham, to array the men of Redesdale and the marches to resist the Scots, who are "threatening to attack the North of England immediately in force."⁴ "Bekyns" to warn the marches are to be maintained, and wheelwrights, smiths, and other craftsmen retained to make carriages and waggons for the king's ordnance for Scotland.⁵ The Scots expedition entered Eng-

¹ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 321. He was probably a descendant of Andrew Ker of Attonburn, to whom the fifth Earl of Douglas granted a charter in 1439. See note, p. 219, *supra*.

² Pp. 464, 465.

³ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 323, July 1493.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

land by the Berwickshire route.¹ But fortune did not smile upon it. Had James been as clear-sighted as he was chivalrous, he must have foreseen that the support of their hereditary enemies was not the best means to win the people of Northumberland to the cause of the pretender. The expedition degenerated into a raid, and though renewed, led to no tangible result. Perhaps familiarity, and the vulgarity inseparable from imposture in whatever form, destroyed the glamour which had at first clothed Perkin in the eyes of the king. Diplomacy was also at work against him, and thus in February 1498² a new truce with England was concluded, and, so far as the Border was concerned, the cause of the pretended Duke of York had flickered to extinction.³ Two of Henry's precautions against Borderers at this period deserve passing notice. One of them provides against "privy meetings" between Scots and Englishmen on the Borders; the other is an act of banishment from the English Border counties of Scots who, being suspected, shall fail to render satisfactory account of themselves.⁴ In the new treaty the provisions relating to the Border were, on the whole, of a more stringent character than heretofore, and doubtless did their part in that system of government which was gradually bringing Scotland into better order than she had known for many years. The above negotiations bring us for a moment into touch with Spain's brief period of glory, by showing us D'Ayala, the ambassador of

¹ Hill Burton, vol. iii. p. 48, note. ² Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 331.

³ While these events were pending, the king visited, among other places, Melrose—where he spent the interval from Christmas 1496 to New Year's Day 1497. Accounts of his expenditure there show that his evenings were devoted to card-playing, whilst on St John's Day occurs the item of 36s. paid for a performance by the guisers (Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, vol. i. p. 308).

⁴ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. pp. 317, 318.

Ferdinand and Isabella, empowered to act as mediator between the two kingdoms.

Ferdinand had also a hand in another transaction which was destined to prove of profound significance to the Borders, and eventually, indeed, to lead to their annihilation as a military frontier. This was, of course, the royal match which united James IV. to Margaret, daughter of the far-seeing and peace-desiring Henry VII., and which among its ultimate results included the setting upon the English throne, one hundred and one years later, of the Scottish king James VI. The girl princess was conducted to Lamberton kirk¹ on the Border, and the marriage took place with much rejoicing at Holyrood on the 8th August 1502.² The occasion was celebrated, not by a mere hand-to-mouth truce, of the pattern to which we have been accustomed ever since the Treaty of Northampton, but by the conclusion of a substantial treaty of Perpetual Peace between the two countries.³

It was during this reign, says Hill Burton, that "there was the beginning of troubles on the Borders, bearing in some of their features a resemblance to those with which the Highland district had so long afflicted the central government." These consisted of predatory incursions directed not ostensibly against a hostile, or even a foreign, Power, but towards any quarter whence desirable commodities might be obtained, and this is the first reference in our history to what many persons would no doubt pronounce the distinctive feature of old Border life—*i.e.*, to moss-trooping. We must, however, defer our more

¹ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 333.

² Among the possessions handed over as jointure to the young queen were the Forest of Ettrick and Newark Castle (Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. p. 342). The seisin is given near the manor of Gallowschelis by John Murray of Fawlohill, Sheriff of Selkirk, and among the witnesses appears the name of Walter Scot of Bukcleuch.

³ Cal. Scot. Doc., vol. iv. pp. 337-339.

extended notice of the practice until it reaches a head in the next reign. In the meantime it may suffice to say that disorders of this character seem in this year to have been the means of bringing the king to the Border counties. He was at Jedburgh on the 5th and 11th November, and on the 15th Edmund Armstrong of Liddesdale appeared with his brothers, in answer to the royal command, to meet the charge of burning Bothuichelis (Borthwickshiels), and of the "hereschip" of 300 sheep, 60 oxen and cows, 20 horses and mares, and goods to the value of 100 merks.¹ There were also further indictments of the same character against these Armstrongs and others of the race. At the same time an amnesty was granted for all offences of the kind committed three years before date. Besides the Armstrongs, the family of the Crosars were at this period engaged in harrying the lands of their own countrymen, and there is mention too of a raid "beyond Tweeddale and Lauderdale," in which certain Elliots—brothers, nicknamed "Hob the King" and "Dand the Man"—carried off nine score of sheep.² The record of the assize held at Selkirk during the same month also contains charges of a similar description against Walter Scot younger of Edschaw, but the class of offence does not seem to have spread yet to Peeblesshire.³

¹ Armstrong's History of Liddesdale, p. 190, from Books of Adjournal, MS., Justiciary Office.

² Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland, vol. i. p. 32*.

³ Ibid., vol. i. pp. 38*, 39*. In 1510 the king was present in person at the Justice-Aire of Jedburgh. A list of interrogations drawn up for the guidance of the sheriff on that occasion includes questions relating to witchcraft, slaying of salmon in forbidden time, or their fry in mill-dams, reif, slaying of deer by stalking within other lords' parks, stealing hawks or hounds, destroying rabbit-warrens, slaying of hares in snow, &c. (Pitcairn, vol. i. pp. 64* *et seq.*) The interrogatory supplies a measure at once of the rudeness of the people and of the elaborateness of the steps taken for amending it. Leslie tells of a severe but salutary example made by the king on this occasion: "Nocht lang efter, quhen the King vndirstude how

What with disorders such as these, and improvements which he was introducing in the country at large, James had plenty to keep his hands full at home, and ought therefore to have rejoiced in the prospect of lasting peace with England. But he appears to have been dead to his own interest in this respect. As long as Henry VII. lived, that monarch set an example—as admirable as it was rare—of moderation and self-restraint in the treatment of such difficulties as might arise upon the Borders.¹ But with his death, in 1509, the peaceful aspect of affairs began at once to change. A variety of causes now combined to strain relations between the two countries. Among these no doubt the chief was the interest and influence of Scotland's old ally, France, who being herself embroiled in war with Henry VIII., naturally brought powers of every description to bear on the somewhat simple-minded James to draw him with her into the struggle. The retention of the Queen of Scotland's jewels by her brother, and the very free construction put by Sir Andrew Barton on his letter of

all the way to the riuir of Roul trauellouris be traytouris war trublet, reft, and slane; be nycht, that tha knew nocht his mynd, he inuades thame with a gret band of men of weir, takes mony of the traytouris, to Jed-burghe bringis thame be force, quhair sum he declares innocent, vtheris worthie of Jugement, quha war chiefe and specialis. Thir war compelit to cum afor the King with thair naket swordes and towis about thair neckis, putting thame selves in the Kings wil; to saue thair lyues, or punis thame at his plesure; quhome the King commandet to put in strait presone in sindrie places, quhil the sentence war geiuen out against thame. Heirefter was na pairt in Scotland sa quyet as the bordours, quhilk afoir was wraket through spoylie, reife, and slauchter."—*Historie*, book viii., Dalrymple's translation. The quietness, as we shall soon see, was not of long duration. Jeffrey says that most of the prisoners were Turnbells (Roxburghshire, vol. ii. p. 164).

¹ As, for instance, in 1499, in the case of the rupture threatened by the quarrel of some young Scotsmen with the keepers of Norham Castle (Buchanan, p. 419). Henry's relations with James display the art which "concedes the non-essential." He took care in the marriage-treaty to have much the best of the bargain.

marque against the Portuguese, tended further to inflame matters. Yet another ground of offence—and that the one with which we are here most concerned—arose out of a blood-feud.

The facts were these. Sir Robert Ker of Fernihirst, the head of a second branch of the Ker family, had held the office of warden of the Middle Marches during the reign of Henry VII. Having by strictness in the performance of his duties rendered himself hateful to the more lawless among the Borderers, he was attacked and murdered, while attending a march meeting, by three Englishmen named Lilburn, Starhead, and Heron, called the Bastard. The king, in whose esteem Ker had held a high place, appealed to England for redress. Acting in accordance with his usual policy, Henry showed zeal in complying with this just demand. Starhead and the Bastard had already made good their flight, but Heron of Ford, the legitimate brother of the latter, was seized in his place and delivered with Lilburn to the Scots. Lilburn died in prison, and Heron continued to languish there; but, after the accession of Henry VIII., the fugitives—trusting that bygones were now forgotten—began to show themselves in public once more as if nothing serious had happened. This was too much for Andrew, known as “Dand,” Ker, son of the murdered man, who determined to have revenge. Two of his retainers, named Tait, were therefore despatched across the Border, and having journeyed ninety miles to the house of Starhead, broke into it, slew the owner, and cutting off his head, carried it back in triumph to their employer, by whom it was exposed to the public gaze in Edinburgh.¹ This violent act is represented as a source of grievance to Henry VIII.,

¹ Buchanan, pp. 423, 424.

whilst the continued immunity from punishment enjoyed by the Bastard Heron was equally offensive to James.

At last the tension became unbearable. Portents of the most startling nature were disregarded, and in August 1513 the Scottish army, having assembled on the Boroughmuir to the number of 100,000 fighting men, proceeded to cross the Border. From this time forward there is an air of infatuation about King James's acts which might have justified his contemporaries in suspecting him to be "fey." The campaign had opened with a reverse sustained by Lord Home, who, on his return from an incursion into England, had been attacked and routed by an ambush concealed in the tall broom of Milfield plain. But after this, fortune for a while favoured the Scots, to whom the castles of Norham, Wark, and Etal fell an easy prey. At Ford the too-gallant James came under the fascinations of the scheming *châtelaine*—Lady Heron, wife of his prisoner—and a few precious days were wasted in dalliance. Provisions for the army were already beginning to fail, and in the real or pretended search for them many of the Scottish soldiers, whose hearts were not really in the campaign, returned to their homes.

Meantime Surrey, the English commander, having raised an army of some 26,000 men in the northern counties, was advancing under the sacred banner of St Cuthbert to meet the Scots. Acting upon his knowledge of the king's character, he sent forward Rouge Croix herald to provoke him to a contest, receiving a reply to the effect that James desired it as ardently as himself. The Scots had meantime secured themselves upon the top of Flodden Hill, a roomy tableland formed by the last of the subsiding swells of Cheviot, and it now became Surrey's object to lure them from this strong position. Again he sought to play upon the king's weakness, by sending another herald to expostu-

late against his occupation of ground which was "more like a fortress"¹ than the impartial plain on which fair battle might be waged. But even the king's folly stopped short of yielding to such representation. Meantime, every day was of importance to Surrey, for the country around had been wasted, whilst incessant rains served to depress the spirits of the soldiers. In these circumstances, he resolved upon a manœuvre which, though justified by success, must have seemed risky to the point of foolhardiness. Between him and the enemy wound the Till, a narrow but deep river, enclosed by precipitous banks. This stream was now crossed by the main body of the English army at Twizell bridge, and by the rear-guard at a ford somewhat higher up. And now—while the enemy were divided in the execution of this awkward evolution—now or never was clearly King James's opportunity for attack. But, in the face of all inducements, he insisted on remaining inactive, fascinated as would seem by his own destiny. It was in vain that the veteran Angus urged him on. He was met by an insult, which he made his excuse for withdrawing from the army, leaving behind him two sons and 200 of his name to perish in the ensuing battle. It was in vain that Borthwick, master of the artillery, flung himself upon his knees and implored to be permitted to bring his guns to bear upon the column. Other tried soldiers joined their entreaties to his, but James remained fixed in his obdurate petulancy. The disastrous results of his conduct were soon apparent. Having at length got his army across the river, Surrey advanced at the head of it to Braxton, which lies to the north-west of Flodden Hill—thus cutting off the Scottish army from their base, and intercepting their return.

¹ Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, edited by M. J. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 2.

Starvation now stared James in the face, and there was nothing for it but to leave his position of vantage and meet the enemy in the plain. Still his men were fresh, and there remained in his favour the chances of a well-fought day.

Having fired the huts and other temporary buildings which they had been occupying, the Scottish army began to descend the incline. It was the afternoon of the 9th September, and the smoke, hanging low in the heavy atmosphere, for a time concealed their advance. Never probably had Scotland sent forth a more gallant band, under a leader of a higher courage, and yet the greatest of all Scottish military disasters lay ahead of it. For the lesson of Flodden Field is that personal courage, cultivated to the total neglect of military discipline and of military tactics, may become in the presence of a hostile army a source of positive calamity; and a generation had grown up in Scotland who, though matchless in the tourney or the personal combat, had yet lacked the stern preceptorship of warfare.

It was four o'clock when the armies joined battle. The Scots were drawn up in five divisions. The first encounter was between the Scottish left, under Lords Home and Huntly, and the English right, under Edmund Howard, a son of Surrey, and the first advantage lay with the Scots. But the English reverse was quickly repaired by the support brought up by Lord Dacre, whilst the facile advantage gained by Home's men seems of itself to have tended to demoralise them. The further progress of the battle has been too often and too brilliantly described to require or to excuse detailed recapitulation. Suffice it to say, then, that the incipient confusion was materially heightened by a movement of the Highlanders, who formed the right wing of the army. Galled by the English arrows, they precipitated themselves upon the enemy. But severe as was

their impact, its effect was not sustained, whilst the wild and undisciplined movements which succeeded it proved terribly disconcerting to their own allies. The king commanded the centre of the Scottish army. Years before this, his friend Ayala, whilst doing full justice to his courage, had observed of him that he was not a good captain, "because he begins to fight before he gives his orders." James was to-day to justify the reproach. His quest throughout the battle seems to have been a hand-to-hand conflict with Surrey—the wiser general, to whose greater experience the relative functions of head and hands in an army were familiar. But it was James's example more than his conduct which was ruinous. Not to be outdone by their sovereign, the Scottish nobles left the posts to which their rank and authority should have held them, and pressed after him into the *mêlée*. The gallantry of individual dis-united effort, however, availed nothing. James fell, pierced by an arrow and struck down by an axe, and ere night closed on the scene the Scottish army had received its *coup-de-grâce* from the charge which Chester directed upon its rear. But it was not until the rising sun lit up the heaps of the slain, and the ghastly ring of corpses which surrounded the dead king, that the extent of their victory became manifest to the English themselves.

CHAPTER X.

THE BORDERS AFTER FLODDEN—LOCAL TRADITIONS—THE DACRE RAIDS—THE HORNSHOLE INCIDENT—FACTION RIFE IN THE COUNTRY—"RAID OF JEDWOOD FOREST"—OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND—SURREY'S JEDBURGH DESPATCH—SIEGE OF FERNIHIRST AND ITS SEQUEL—GEORGE BUCHANAN'S ACCOUNT OF ALBANY'S SIEGE OF WARK CASTLE—BATTLE OF MELROSE BRIDGE—BLOOD-FEUD OF THE SCOTTS AND KERS, AND MURDER OF BUCCLEUCH IN THE STREETS OF EDINBURGH—FALL OF ANGUS—THE KING TURNS HIS ATTENTION TO THE BORDERS—MAITLAND'S "COMPLAINT AGAINST THE THIEVES OF LIDDESDALE"—DESCRIPTION OF A BORDER RAID—DEMORALISATION OF THE BORDERS—WILLIAM COKBURN AND ADAM SCOT MADE EXAMPLES—THE KING'S EXPEDITION INTO TEVIOTDALE—EXECUTION OF JOHNIE ARMSTRONG OF GILNOCKIE AND HIS COMPANIONS—WAS IT JUSTIFIED?—BALLADS OF FREEBOOTING LIFE—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES—AFFAIR OF HADDEN RIG—PREPARATIONS FOR INVASION, AND DEATH OF JAMES V.—DEPRESSION OF THE BORDERS.

NOTHING could exceed the desolation into which the country at large was plunged by the disaster of Flodden. The Scottish losses were estimated at from 10,000 to 12,000—including thirteen earls, fifteen lords and heads of clans, and, in fact—with the sole exception of Lord Home—almost every leading man in the country. There was scarce a Scottish family of note but lost at least one member. And, amid the general mourning, the Borders in all likelihood had most cause to mourn. The historian of Selkirk says that probably no district suffered more than that county, whose yeomen, as Crown tenants, would form the king's bodyguard. There are traces of an old lament, of much sweetness and pathos, over the fallen sons of the Forest. But, by a strange

freak of inspiration, Flodden waited long for its poet, and it was not till two centuries afterwards that the wail of the district found perfect articulation on the lips of Jane Elliot of Minto.

It was natural that local traditions should gather around this period of sorrow. Thus at Selkirk we find the story that, of eighty inhabitants who had gone forth to the battle, one alone returned. This was the leader, William Brydone, the town-clerk, who brought with him a banner captured in the fray, and was knighted by James V. for his services. Local tradition identifies the banner with that of the Weavers' Corporation, which is still borne in triumph to the "common riding," when the burgh bounds are ridden; whilst an ancient sword, supposed to have been Brydone's, has also been preserved. A second story associates the sculptured figures on the burgh seal with a burghess wife of the period, who, beginning to despair of her husband's return, wandered forth to look for him, and was found dead, at a spot thence called Ladywood-edge, with her baby at her breast. These tales scarcely stand investigation. The seal is, in fact, that of Kelso Abbey—whose connection with Selkirk has been described—the figures representing the Holy Virgin and Child. Yet, when stripped of the overgrowth of fancy, the facts remain, and are supported by documentary evidence, that the inhabitants of Selkirk responded with spirit to the king's summons to the field, that the bailies carefully superintended the necessary arrangements, and that every capable hand was impressed to assist in the labour of strengthening the defences of the town. A subsequent silence of two months in the burgh records is perhaps more eloquent than words.¹

¹ Craig-Brown, vol. ii. p. 22 *et seq.*

The tradition found at Hawick resembles the above in one particular, but belongs to the next year. History affords evidence that, though desolated by the great defeat, the country was not morally prostrated;¹ and the Hawick incident, if accepted, would tend to bear this out. Though Surrey's army had been disbanded after the battle, Dacre, the English warden of the Mid Marches, preyed in successive raids on the wellnigh defenceless Borders. In the month following the victory, he already owns to three raids into Teviotdale—one to Howpasley Tower, one to Caerlanrig, a third to the castle of Ancrum. In November his brother Philip, having entered Scotland at the head of some thousands of mounted men, burnt Ruecastle; whilst Sir Roger Fenwick did the same for Lanton, near Jedburgh. In this incursion the warden himself fared but indifferent well, being pursued "right sore," at Bowset, on Rule Water, by Douglas, Sheriff of Teviotdale, with about 1200 followers. None the less Liddesdale was wasted, refugees in Dykeraw Tower were smoked into surrender, Southdean was razed and plundered. But hostilities did not end here. Next spring Dacre is able to write of the Waters of Liddel, Ewes, Teviot from Ewes to Branhholm, Borthwick from Craik Cross to the mouth, and Ale from Alemuir to Ashkirk, that they are "laid waste now, and no corn is sown upon any of these lands."² The country, however, was roused, the beacons were swift to

¹ Besides the well-known heroic efforts made in Edinburgh, Chambers tells us that the people of Peebles now "looked to the strengthening of its bastle-houses and walls." He adds that "some portions of the fortifications reared at this season of panic are still seen, in good preservation, on the eastern and least defensible side of the burgh" (Peeblesshire, p. 92).

² The Hawick Tradition of 1514, by R. S. Craig and A. Laing (Hawick, 1898), p. 64 *et seq.*

kindle, and it is supposed to have been at this juncture that the Hornshole incident occurred. The story, which lacks confirmation, is simply that a party of the raiders approached the town of Hawick and threatened it. Its adult population, under Douglas of Drumlanrig, had been swept off almost to a man in the recent great defeat and slaughter. But the inexperienced youth of the place rose equal to the occasion. Sallying forth from the town, they found the Englishmen at Hornshole, a deep pool two miles farther down Teviot, and having fallen upon and routed them, captured and bore away their pennon. This flag, or at the least a copy of it, is said to have been borne at the annual "common riding" ever since. It bears a saltire *or* upon an azure field, which has led the most recent investigators of its history to conclude, on heraldic grounds, that the men from whom it was taken were retainers of the Priory of Hexham.

These hostilities, desperate as they were, were nevertheless confined to the Border, and soon afterwards Scotland found herself comprehended in a treaty of peace which was concluded between England and France, and subsequently more than once renewed. But though her external quarrels were by this means composed for some seven or eight years to come, perhaps there was no period in her history when internal faction ran so high. The king was a child, and the country was divided between various claimants who in turn grasped at supremacy. Among these, the first to emerge into prominence was Angus, grandson and successor of old Bell-the-Cat, who had died soon after Flodden. The young earl had in a very short time become husband of the queen-mother, who by this marriage forfeited the regency, which was now conferred upon Albany, son of the rebel brother of

James III., and consequently cousin-german of the late king. Of the two parties thus formed, Lord Home, who had escaped with tarnished reputation from the field of Flodden, at first took the side of Albany. Angus had always a little army of Borderers at his disposal, who were well trained to fighting, and who cared for little else, and thus it seemed that the old quarrels of the East and West Marches under March and Douglas were about to be repeated. But Home quarrelled with Albany instead, and history repeated itself by his being enticed with a brother to execution at Edinburgh, as the Douglasses had been before him. But though his power on the East Border was great, and the accusations against him were generally of the most paltry description,¹ as a historic figure he compares but meanly with young Douglas. "*Minuit præ-sentiâ famam*" was the caustic epigram of Albany after their first interview—"I thought more of him before I had seen him."² He is said to have been of little stature, but fond of display: his public life was that of a mere schemer for his own gain.

The weakness of the Government and the disorder of the country at this period may be gauged by such occurrences as the murder of the warden De la Bastie—slain by Sir David Home of Wedderburn in revenge for the death of his kinsman—and by the famous street-battle known as "*Cleanse the Causeway*," fought in the streets of Edinburgh, in which the followers of Angus worsted the Hamiltons under Arran, another first cousin of the late king. When disorder was so rife, we may be sure that the Middle Marches had their share of it,

¹ He was accused of having murdered the king, who was alleged to have escaped from Flodden and taken refuge at Home Castle. Ker of Fernihirst was called to Edinburgh with Home, but escaped.

² Godscroft, vol. ii. p. 71.

though the more notable deeds and tragedies of the period were enacted on another stage. Bishop Leslie had vaunted the salutary effects of the late king's punitive expedition against the reivers of the Jedburgh district, but scarce six years had elapsed ere those effects had worn off, and we find the governor, Albany, compelled to visit Jedburgh to tackle the same difficulties.¹

Early in 1520 a quarrel broke out between Angus and Andrew Ker of Fernihirst as to the holding of courts upon the lands of Jed Forest, which, as hereditary bailie, Ker claimed the right to do. The dispute might have been amicably settled, but there were rents in question, and Sir James Hamilton, a bastard son of Arran's, determined to come with an armed force to Fernihirst's assistance. Ker of Cessford, who was warden of the Middle Marches, either in the performance of his duty, or else taking the side against his kinsman and namesake,² fell upon Hamilton near Kelso, scattered his followers, and slew several of his personal retainers. Hamilton himself escaped to Home Castle. The next day Fernihirst held his court in the Tolbooth of Jedburgh as bailie to Angus, whilst Angus held a court of his own three miles out of the town.³ This affray was known as the Raid of Jedwood Forest, and serves as an example of the immediate and uncalled-for recourse to arms which the character of the times had rendered habitual.

In such a state of matters any war which was not a civil one might almost be regarded as a blessing. In 1522 Henry VIII. provoked an outbreak of hostilities by his attempt to

¹ Ridpath, p. 505. Jeffrey, vol. ii. p. 165, dates the expedition two years earlier.

² Drummond of Hawthornden, *History of Scotland*, 2nd ed., p. 263, assigns the latter motive.

³ Leslie, book ix. p. 177.

dictate to Scotland the dismissal of the Regent Albany. The reply of the Scots was spirited, and included an accusation against Henry of permitting his wardens and officers on the Borders to aid and favour the rebels, "broken men," and bad characters of Scotland, and to ride with them "as far within the land as they durst, robbing, spoiling, and overthrowing the true lieges of the realm."¹ On this, Henry decreed the banishment from his kingdom of all Scots who could not show letters of denization. They were to have white crosses for identification stitched upon their garments, and were to be conducted to the frontier.² At the same time the Earl of Shrewsbury, having been appointed commander-in-chief of an English army, made a sudden incursion upon Kelso, burning one-half of the town and plundering the other, but being eventually repulsed by a force of Borderers, in number greatly inferior to his own.³ Albany now threatened Carlisle; but though his army was large and well furnished, internal dissensions hampered action, and it was dispersed, having accomplished nothing.

The truce, however, was not renewed. During the following spring and summer, Surrey with Dacre ravaged Teviotdale, burning, among other places, Mowhaugh, Morebattle, Cessford, Primside, and Wideopen.⁴ Then, on the Scots attempting reprisals, the English commanders marched with an army upon Jedburgh. Though unfortified, the town defended itself bravely, but was captured and burnt, and the monastery destroyed. Dacre then captured Fernihirst Castle from Dand Ker. This expedition derives a special interest from the fact that we possess an account of it by the English captain,

¹ Ridpath, p. 513, from Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 762.

² Leslie, book ix., A.D. 1522.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ridpath, p. 515, note.

Surrey, a son of the victor of Flodden, who had himself taken a prominent part in that battle.

Addressing King Henry from Berwick, September 27, 1523, he begins by assuring his Majesty that Jedburgh is "soo suerly brent, that no garnysones ner none other shal bee lodged there, unto the tyme it bee newe buylded," and then goes on to describe the town as "moche bettir then I went [weened] it had been, for there was twoo tymys moo houses therein then in Berwike, and well buylded, with many honest and faire houses therein, sufficiente to have lodged M horsemen in garnyson, and six good towres therein, which towne and towres be clenely distroyed, brent, and throwen downe." The writer now indulges in a little quiet appreciation of his own achievement, which he modestly describes as the best of its kind within living memory, and then goes on to tell of a great mischance, which, arising from disregard of his orders, has somewhat marred his success. With Sir William Eure and Sir William Bulmer, his marshals, he had taken excellent thought for the ordering of his camp, which was "soo well envirownd with ordynance, carts, and dikes, that hard it was to entre or issue, but at certain places appointed for that purpos." In this well-defended camp the most commodious quarters were assigned to the implacable Dacre—the bitterest foe, save Somerset, that the Scottish Borders ever had. But his lordship was not content with them, and insisted on lying without the camp—with the result that, thanks to Surrey, Borderers of to-day may still smile over his discomfiture.

Next day Dacre marched to the assault of Fernihirst, which "stode mervelous strongly, within a great woode," and whose lord was his mortal enemy. With him went two knights, 800 men, one *cortoute*, and "dyvers other good peces for the feld." Entering the wood on foot, in two detachments, the Englishmen met with a spirited resistance from "hardy men, that went

noo foote back for theym," so that they were obliged to call for reinforcements. Still they failed to bring the ordnance to bear on the castle, until Dacre with some of his horsemen dismounted and came to their assistance, when, after much labour and long skirmishing, they "gat forthe th' ordynance within the howse and threwe downe the same." The Scots lost above thirty-two slain; the English, four slain and more than forty wounded. Returning to camp, Dacre still refused to occupy the quarters provided for him. But as he sat at supper with Surrey, at about eight o'clock, a great alarm arose. The horses of his company had broken loose to the number of 1500, and a terrible stampede ensued. In the belief that the Scots were upon them, the English discharged their bows and pieces at the frightened beasts, many hundreds of whom perished, either in the flames of the blazing town or by being dashed to pieces over the scaurs. Dacre's nerve was evidently overstrained, and he attributed the misfortune to supernatural agency. "I dare not," says Surrey, "write the wondres that my lord Dacre, with all his company, doo saye they sawe that nyght. . . . Unyversally all their company saye playnly, the devill was that nyght among thym vi tymys." The writer concludes with a high compliment to the Borderers, whom he describes as the "boldest men and the hottest that ever I sawe any nation."¹ And Surrey had seen much service at home and abroad. From Jedburgh Dacre passed to Kelso, there to wreak his vengeance upon all that had been saved from Shrewsbury.

On the very day of the burning of Jedburgh the Regent Albany had returned to Scotland from one of his protracted visits to France, and brought with him a French force of 3000 foot and 500 mounted men-at-arms. With these, in poverty

¹ Cottonian MS., quoted in Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, p. 52. Reprint by Ward, Lock, & Co.

and delicate health, came the renowned George Buchanan, at that time a youth of less than eighteen. He remained with the troops during the subsequent campaign, and his account of their proceedings is therefore that of an eye-witness. A junction with the Scottish army having been effected, the united force marched towards England. But the Scots, content to protect their own country, had no desire to fight the battles of France, and when they came to the wooden bridge over Tweed at Melrose, a majority of them refused to go farther, and some who had already crossed returned. Albany with his Frenchmen then pushed on down the left bank of the river, and bringing up opposite Wark, prepared to besiege the castle. Meantime the cavalry, having forded the river, possessed themselves of all approaches to the castle by which supplies might be introduced, and wasted the surrounding country. Buchanan's narrative of the siege may stand as a description of the investment of a Border fortress of the first class. He tells us that the castle consisted of a central tower of great strength and height, surrounded by a double enceinte. The outer court, of large extent, was used in time of war by the peasantry as a place of safety for their flocks and crops: the inner one, which was much smaller, being defended by towers and ditches, was also much stronger. The present assailants seized the outer court; but the defenders having fired the barns and stacks which it contained, the flames and smoke drove them out. The next two days were devoted to battering the wall of the inner court with artillery. When a practicable breach had been effected, the Frenchmen stormed it with great gallantry; but being exposed to missiles of all kinds from the keep, which remained intact, they were repulsed with some loss, and rejoined the army across the river.¹ An English army was now reported to be advancing,

¹ Buchanan, p. 451, book xiv., A.D. 1523.

and as Albany saw that the Scots were opposed to the war, he abandoned the siege and retired. Soon afterwards he left Scotland, not to return.

His departure paved the way for a peace, though hostilities still smouldered on the Border. By an Act known as the Erection of the King, James, at the age of twelve, was declared competent to govern, and shortly after this the Earl of Angus again became all-powerful in the country. Though estranged from the queen, he had been reconciled to his old rival Arran, and—what was of first importance—had possessed himself of the king's person. Notwithstanding assurances to the contrary, which might or might not be genuine, there was a strong suspicion abroad that James was detained against his will; but an attempt to liberate him, undertaken at Linlithgow, was a failure. Angus was now warden of the East and Middle Marches, and as he was returning from doing justice on the Border thieves at Jedburgh, accompanied by his royal charge, whom he scarcely allowed out of his sight, he suddenly found himself confronted by Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm, or Buccleuch, the power of whose family on the Borders had been steadily increasing since the fall of the Black Douglasses. Scott now appeared upon the hill of Haliden, at the head of 1000 men, and descending into the valley, barred the way to Melrose Bridge. The earl sent forward a herald to ask his intentions, and to charge him to retire, to whom Buccleuch replied that "he was come to show himself and his friends to the king his master, as other Bordermen did," adding presently, that "he knew the king's mind as well as Angus did, and would not go away till he saw him."¹ It has been supposed that he had previously harboured a design to secure the king at his house, the failure of which led him to have recourse to force. Fraser, however, says that he came in

¹ Godscroft, vol. ii. p. 90.

response to a secret letter from the king.¹ Seeing how matters stood, Angus placed his charge in safe keeping, and proceeded to give battle. He had only 300 retainers with him, but was soon reinforced by the Homes and the Kers of Fernihirst and Cessford, families with whom he had ingratiated himself, and who, having recently left his company, returned upon the sough of battle. For a time the contest was fierce; but being deserted by the outlaws of Liddesdale, who formed part of his force, Buccleuch was compelled to retire. This affray took place at or near Darnick, on the 25th of July 1526, and Scott, the great novelist, who knew every acre of that country, tells us that local tradition has preserved several names taken from incidents of the fight—such as the Charge Law, where Buccleuch drew up his men for the onset; Skirmish Hill, where the battle was fought; and Turn-again, a small eminence where the beaten party rallied.²

In this encounter Buccleuch was wounded and lost eighty men; whilst in the pursuit which followed it, in the rally just mentioned, Ker of Cessford, being foremost in the chase, was slain by a spear-thrust of Elliot of Stobs, one of Buccleuch's retainers. His death gave rise to a blood-feud between the Scotts and Kers, which lasted unabated for a century, and in its after-effects even longer. Thus, in revenge for Cessford's death, twenty-six years later, on the night of October 4, 1552, after an active career, Buccleuch was slain by a party of the Kers and their friends in the High Street of Edinburgh. He appears to have been taken at a disadvantage, "quhen he was halden to" John Home of Cowdenknowes, who thrust his sword through the body,

¹ The Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. 79.

² Border Antiquities of England and Scotland, vol. ii., Appendix 2, pp. xiv, xv. In stating the number of Buccleuch's force, the present writer follows Godscroft.

at the same time crying to young Ker of Cessford to "Strike, tretour! ane strake for thy faderis sake." The deed done, Home cast the body into a booth, saying, "Lie there, with my malison, for I had rather gang by thy grave nor thy door." To complete the barbarity of the crime, two of Home's servants, passing the place some time after, and finding Sir Walter not yet dead, each struck him "three or four times through the body." They then stript off and carried away his cloak and bonnet, replying to questions asked them as they went their way, that "there was ane lad fallen."¹ Cessford and his accomplices made their escape on horses provided for them by Hoppringle of Torwoodlee. They were, however, declared rebels—from which sentence, and from the retaliation of the Scotts, they suffered much loss. But all these things are, of course, an anticipation.²

¹ Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. 118.

² Sir Walter Scott prints a bond which had for its object—unrealised, as we have seen—the "stanching" of this feud. This document, dated at Ancrum, March 16, 1529, sets forth that it is "appointed, agreed, and finally accorded" betwixt honourable men: that is to say, Walter Ker of Cessford, Andrew Ker of Fairniehirst, Mark Ker of Dolphinston, George Ker, tutor of Cessford, and Andrew Ker of Primsideloch, for themselves, their dependents and adherents on the one part, and Walter Scot of Branhholm, knight, Robert Scot of Allanhaugh, Robert Scot, tutor of Howpaisly, John Scot of Robertson, and Walter Scot of Stirkschaws for themselves and followers on the other: for "staunching all discord and variance betwixt them," &c., and "for unite, friendship, and concord to be had in time coming 'twixt them, of our Sovereign Lord's special command," that either of the said parties "remit and forgives to others the rancour, hatred, and malice of their hearts." In token of which Walter Scot of Branhholm shall "gang, or cause gang, at the will of the party, to the four head pilgrimages of Scotland" (Scoon, Dundee, Paisley, and Melrose), and "shall say a mass for the souls of umquhile Andrew Ker of Cessford, and them that were slain in his company at the field of Melrose"—which mass was to be repeated daily at Scot's expense, "in what place the said Walter Ker and his friends pleases," for five years to come. On the other part, two of the Kers were to make similar pilgrimages, and have similar masses said, for three years to come, for the soul of James Scot of

At length, in 1528, after a third fruitless attempt had been made to free him, James, now a spirited lad well advanced in his teens, took the law into his own hands. Disguising himself as a groom, he made his escape from Falkland Palace to Stirling by night, in the company of a single faithful servant. Angus returned from a brief absence to find the bird flown beyond recapture, and disgrace and forfeiture awaiting himself. It is gratifying to note that, in the elation of his new-found liberty, James did not forget those who had sought to befriend him in subjection. After the affair at Melrose, Buccleuch with others of his family had been convicted of high treason; but the king now went in person to Parliament, and there declared that they had come forward on that occasion by his command, and merely to testify their duty—in token whereof he cited the fact that Buccleuch himself was attired “bot in ane ledderin cote, and ane blak bonet on his head.”¹ The family were accordingly restored.

Eskirk (Ashkirk), and other Scots slain on the same field. Scot of Branhholm was further to marry his son and heir to one of Ker of Cessford's sisters, “paying therefor a competent portion to the said Walter Ker and his heir.” Six arbiters were to settle all other matters in dispute between the two parties, which arbiters were to deliver their judgment within a year and a day from date. The deed closes with a general engagement of goodwill, forbearance, and support—on which the foul murder described above forms a comment full of irony (*Border Minstrelsy*, 1st ed., vol. i. p. cxxviii).

In 1564—that is, after the murder—a similar bond was entered into between Sir William Ker of Cessford and Sir Walter Scott of Branhholm, the latter acting with the consent of his curators. It appointed that Ker should do penance and ask young Scott's forgiveness in St Giles's Kirk, Edinburgh, and further arranged for a marriage between the second son of Cessford and a sister of Branhholm. It was subscribed, among others, by the widow of the murdered man. It is noticeable that several of the Kers, including Sir Thomas of Fernihirst, refused to be parties to this agreement (*Scotts of Buccleuch*, vol. i. p. 136 *et seq.*; *Jeffrey*, vol. iii. p. 93).

¹ Extract from Declaration printed in *The Scotts of Buccleuch*, vol. ii. p. 152. Dated July 6, 1528.

We have seen that in recent years the condition of the Borders had repeatedly claimed attention. So far, however, repressive measures had proved ineffectual. Matters had now reached a climax, and, young as he was, the king resolved to deal with them forthwith. Possibly his spite against Angus gave relish to the task; for the earl was suspected of having for his own purposes countenanced the freebooters, and certainly their conduct in refusing to oppose him at Melrose gives colour to the suspicion.¹ At any rate, we find the king accusing his former tyrant—now a refugee in England—of having cherished and maintained the Border thieves and broken men, so that they had laid waste a great part of the realm, while their wealth and power had by these means risen to such a pitch that they could not easily be destroyed. It is also charged against them that they had done much to undermine the peace with England.²

The “Complaynt aganis the Thievis of Liddisdail” of the contemporary poet and statesman Maitland of Lethington, shows us that at least James had not allowed rancour to betray him into exaggeration. It opens thus:—

“Of Liddisdail the commoun theifis
 Sa peartlie steillis now and reifis,
 That nane may keip
 Horse, nolt, nor scheip,
 Nor yett dar sleip,
 For thair mischeifis.

¹ It is perhaps pointed at in these lines of the “Complaynt”:—

“To sic grit stouth quha eir wald trow it,
 Bot gif sum great man it allowit.”

—*I.e.*, who ever would believe that robbery could be carried to such a pitch except by connivance of some one in power? But the case of Angus was probably not singular.

² State Paper quoted in Armstrong's *Liddesdale*, p. 266.

Thay plainly throw the country rydis,
 I trow the mekil devil thame gydis !
 Quhair they onsett,
 Ay in thair gaitt
 Thair is na yet ¹
 Nor dor thame bydis.

Thay leif rich nocht quhair ever tha ga ;
 Thair can na thing be hid thame fra ;
 For gif men wald
 Thair housis hald,
 Than waxe thay bald,
 To burne and slay."

Then follows an enumeration of some of their hunting-grounds :—

" Thay thieves have neirhand herreit hail,
 Ettricke forest and Lawderdaill ;
 Now are they gane,
 In Lawthiane ;
 And spairis nane
 That thay will waill." ²

Next the desolation which follows in their path is painted, with touches of bitter humour over the thoroughness of their work. The land is "with stouth sa socht" that the very act of ploughing is discontinued—it has become useless to attempt to earn a livelihood by honest labour. Unless blackmail is paid, they that formerly had "flesche and breide and aill" are now made

" Bair and nakit,
 Fane to be slaikit
 With watter caill." ³

Nor are the marauders above despoiling the poor :—

" Thay leif them nocht on bed nor bakis ;
 Baith hen and cok,
 With reil and rok, ⁴
 The Lairdis Jok
 All with him takis."

¹ Gate.

² Choose.

³ Water for soup.

⁴ Reel and spinning-wheel.

Among these thieves of Liddesdale there is one who stands out in lonely interest—an interest arising from the fact that poetry has revealed his character and awakened our sympathy with his doom; for we do not forget that, however deserving of punishment, Johnie Armstrong was as a fact “foully done to death.”

It is easy to recognise in him and his fellows the natural products of their age and circumstances—products which at this day it were unjust to censure too severely. In other words, a glance at old Border life will account for the existence of the Border robber. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the Borderer of the fourteenth and two following centuries led in some respects the life of a military vidette—an existence calling for unremitted vigilance, and the constant readiness to provide for his own safety. We have referred in passing to the system of alarm by beacons—fagots, that is, which were placed ready for kindling, sometimes upon a hill-top, sometimes in an iron basket on the platform of a tower or castle. Upon the signal of the approach of an enemy, the smaller Border householder would hurriedly quit his primitive and inflammable habitation, and, accompanied by wife and children, drive his cattle to the nearest place of refuge. Here, if the refuge were a peel-tower, as was commonly the case, the creatures, brute and human, would find safety, respectively within the barmkyn or palisaded enclosure, and within the tower itself. But their perils were by no means past. Supposing the raiders powerful and the defence weak, the palisade would probably be fired—just as the enclosure at Wark had been breached—and the tower itself assailed. Entered as it was by a door on the first storey, approached by a ladder which could be drawn up, the tower enjoyed considerable advantage in repelling an assailant. But supposing that assailant to brave the missiles from above and

effect a practicable breach in the tower, then he had the inmates at his mercy, for it lay with him to fill the basement with damp smouldering hay, and smoke them into surrender. We have seen an instance of these tactics being practised in one of Dacre's raids. Cases where it was considered worth while to mine the tower and so contrive its downfall were probably of comparatively rare occurrence.

The above, then, were some of the more ordinary experiences of a Border raid. The reader will scarcely have forgotten the seemingly endless series of these raids, which, in our desire to take nothing for granted, at the risk of wearing out his patience, we have ventured to enumerate. And when these are considered, he will be at no loss to understand how honest labour had come to be at a discount on the Borders, whilst an ideal of manhood had been set up in which independence of spirit and prowess in fighting were the things on which almost alone store was set. It was not, however, until the relentless persecution by Dacre after Flodden that life on the Borders was brought to a state of positive demoralisation. "Hitherto," says an accomplished historian, "the Borderers had only introduced the customs of warfare into their life, which in the main held to the recognised code of social duty. Now, under the influence of this brutal treatment, Border life began to slip away from its connection with civilisation. The Borderers ceased to regard themselves as bound by any laws, save that of the family tie, and degenerated into gangs of brigands, whose hand was against every man, and who made little distinction between friend and foe."¹ These Borderers, in so far as they

¹ Carlisle, by Bishop M. Creighton, *Historic Towns Series*, p. 102. Dr Creighton represents Dacre's raids as part of the deliberate policy of Wolsey to humble Scotland, and to teach her by a succession of bitter lessons to abandon for ever the *role* of ally of France against England.

concern us here, consisted first of all of the Armstrongs, whose headquarters lay westward in the Debatable Land, but who extended into Liddesdale and Wauchopedale; secondly, of the Elliots, seated in Liddesdale and Teviotdale, and sometimes occupying the important post of captains of the Hermitage; and afterwards of the Nixons of Dinlabyre and the Crosars of Riccarton, both in Upper Liddesdale, of the Hendersons, Grahams, Wighames, and a few others.¹ The state of matters above described was destined to last until well on in the century, but the king had now determined to deal it a heavy blow.

With this object in view, in the summer of 1529, he visited Jedburgh, Peebles, and Cramalt near St Mary's Loch;² whilst, in March of the year following, he assigned special protectors to the district. The first-fruits of the new appointments were seen in the apprehension of William Cokburn of Henderland and Adam Scot of Tushielaw, famous robber-chiefs of Ettrick Forest. They were brought to Edinburgh, convicted of theft and of levying blackmail, and beheaded. The remains of their castles are, or were till recently, plainly visible. The king's work was, however, but begun. As a preliminary step towards further measures, he now caused to be seized and placed in ward the Lords Maxwell, Bothwell, and Home, together with Buccleuch, Drumlanrig, Mark Ker of Dolphinston, a son of Ker of Fernihirst, and other Border potentates—all suspected, as Angus had been before them, of countenancing the law-breakers. The Border seems next to have been raised *en masse* for the purpose of a crusade. Tweeddale was consigned to the care of Lord Hay of Neidpath, the Sheriff of Selkirk and gentlemen of the Forest being directed to assist him.

¹ Armstrong, p. 177 *et seq.*

² Excerpta e libris domicilii Jacobi V., p. 155.

The king and his company then passed from Edinburgh, by Tweeddale and St Mary's Loch, to Caerlanrig in Teviotdale. Perhaps by way of blind, they combined the pleasures of the chase with their more serious business, and eighteen score of harts, besides smaller game of all kinds, are recorded as the spoils of this famous hunting-ground.

Of what now followed, the historian of Liddesdale prints no fewer than four separate accounts, all by sixteenth-century writers,¹ which of course differ in detail. The 'Diurnal of Occurrents' of the reign is unfortunately reticent on the subject. It seems, however, that the king summoned the inhabitants of the district to him by means of a proclamation. Among them, apparently trusting to his sovereign's clemency—if not, indeed, as has been sometimes supposed, to the actual terms of the summons—came Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, brother of the Laird of Mangerton, and himself the most notorious of freebooters. With him rode thirty-four horsemen, bravely apparelled. But when the king beheld the pomp of his retinue, it seems to have struck him as a manifestation of insolence. "What wants yon knave that a king should have?" he is said to have exclaimed, and ordered the robber to execution. Armstrong strove hard to strike a bargain for his life—offering, in the first instance, to sustain himself and forty gentlemen ever ready to obey the king's behest, and never to molest a Scot; and, when this failed, to bring to the king, either quick or dead, and within a certain space of time, any Englishman whom his Majesty might name. Seeing, however, that he was not to gain his suit, he stooped no further, but proudly pronounced these words: "It is folly to seek grace at a graceless face. But, had I known this, I should have lived on the Borders in despite of King Hary and you both, for

¹ P. 274 *et seq.*

I know King Hary would down-weigh my best horse with gold to know that I were condemned to die this day.”¹ Certainly, whatever view may be taken of Armstrong’s life, it must be acknowledged that his death and dying speech were not lacking in dignity. He and his companions were then hanged upon growing trees, which, according to the rustic tradition, never afterwards put forth leaves. Their graves are still pointed out in the neighbourhood. At the same time and place, one Sandie Scot, a “prowd thief,” who had burnt the house and some of the children of a poor widow, was himself burnt at the stake. Finally, one cannot but regret to learn from Leslie² that there was not even honour among thieves, for Geordie Armstrong, brother to Johnie, was kept alive “to tell of the rest”—which he did, so that in process of time they also were apprehended and punished according to their deserts.

To us the question of most interest about Armstrong is, Did he confine his depredations to the English side of the Border? It has been asserted on the authority of Pitscottie that he did; but this seems open to much doubt. It is true that he had repulsed the great Dacre himself from Hollows Tower,³ but his real position would seem to have been that of the class—to whom we have already more than once alluded—who were Scots or Englishmen according as it suited their purposes.⁴ For such playing fast and loose, his territorial situation on the Debatable Land was admirably adapted; and in this connection the historian of Liddesdale makes one surprising assertion. After quoting a contemporary statement that the Armstrongs had “avaunted themselves to be the destruction of twoe-and-fifty parisshe churches in Scotteland,” he indicates that this statement

¹ Pitscottie, p. 146.

² Book ix.

³ Carlisle, p. 105.

⁴ Minstrelsy, vol. i. p. 35, and note.

was a deliberate and malicious exaggeration, and that the number of Scottish parish churches destroyed by the family did not in fact exceed thirty, all told.¹ In considering this, perhaps it is well to bear in mind that we are now on the eve of the Reformation, when the fat possessions of more or less defenceless Churchmen are beginning to attract longing glances from all quarters. Be these things as they may, it seems certain that, if not actually entrapped to their doom, Armstrong and his companions were put to death without even the form of a trial.² In 1897 a monument was erected to his memory, and if this be viewed as an act of posthumous reparation, it is one with which most Borderers will be able cordially to sympathise.

It is almost surprising to reflect that, besides those whose pleasure and whose forte lay in giving and receiving blows, there were living in these disturbed regions at this period spirits of gentler nature, and of sensitive and imaginative mind. It is to these that we owe the Border ballads, of which many, in the form now known to us, have been assigned to about this date. In their own day the authors were probably persons of capital unimportance, perhaps hardly able to hold their own in the society in which they lived; for whilst so many names of fighters have survived, their names have been without exception forgotten. Perhaps the great difference between ourselves and the Borderers of the end of the Middle Ages is one of self-consciousness—no doubt they felt and thought as deeply as we do, but they were not so conscious of their thoughts and feelings. This difference it is which characterises their poetry. And in its artlessness and spontaneity lies the source of its power. Much as we owe to Sir Walter Scott for his share in the recovery and popularisation of the Border ballads, we cannot but feel that,

¹ Armstrong, p. 267, note.

² Ibid., p. 276.

born as he was in the traditions of the eighteenth century, and lacking—as with all his great mental wealth he did—the scholar's conscience and training, he did not always treat his “finds” with due respect. Yet, in their present imperfect form, such ballads of the freebooting life as “Johnie Armstrang” or “The Sang of the Outlaw Murray” put before us, in wonderfully fresh colours, the pride of life and manhood in the free existence of the forest. And yet this is scarcely the feature which strikes us most; for such ballads again as “Armstrong's Good-night,” the “Border Widow's Lament,” or “Johnie of Breadislee,” serve strangely to *humanise* that savage life for us. It is natural that the humanising touches should spring from the introduction of the woman—the mother, wife, or sweetheart of the hero—and these touches serve also to reveal to us the part in that life played by the woman. It is certainly a significant fact that the strongest point of these poems is their pathos. At times, indeed, it is despair itself which speaks:—

“I took his body on my back,
And whiles I gaed, and whiles I sate;
I digg'd a grave, and laid him in,
And happ'd him with the sod sae green.

But think na ye my heart was sair
When I laid the moul' on his yellow hair?
O think na ye my heart was wae,
When I turn'd about away to gae?”

And it is noteworthy that this old Border life, so rife with tragedy—so brutalising, as one might have been tempted to believe—has produced the poetry which beyond all other poetry, and beyond all hope of rivalry, has shown to the fullest the sharp sense of life and death, and of the cruelty of eternal separation. And what has been said of the ballads of old freebooting life may be extended to those

which deal with other old tragedies of the Border, such as "The Douglas Tragedy," the "Dowie Dens of Yarrow," and many more.

The remaining twelve years of King James V.'s reign were not very eventful on the Borders. Raids into England were resumed in 1532 — reciprocal hostilities of that character being continued for about a year, at the end of which a peace was concluded. One of the effects of the Reformation in England had been to make Henry desire to conciliate James. For a time he had work cut out for himself elsewhere, and was ready on the one hand to make very lavish promises, and on the other to employ somewhat unscrupulous methods, to induce his nephew to embrace the reformed doctrines. Then James's successive matrimonial alliances with France gave him ground for uneasiness, and though their relations continued peaceable, Henry did not think it prudent to neglect to repair his Border fortresses. In 1541 a meeting of the two kings was arranged to take place at York, but James failed to keep tryst, and successive inroads of the Scottish Borderers occurring about the same time left Henry highly incensed. The state of feeling in the two countries at this time is well illustrated by the fact that a meeting of commissioners, assembled on the Border to dispose of a question of trifling importance, was dissolved without a settlement.

Perhaps the greatest blot on the fame of James V. is his inhuman treatment of Angus's sister, Lady Glamis, whom he caused to be burnt on an accusation of witchcraft. In 1541 Angus, accompanied by his brother, Sir George Douglas, and Sir Robert Bowes, captain of Norham Castle, crossed the Border at the head of 3000 men, with intent to advance upon Jedburgh. He was, however, intercepted at Hadden Rig by George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, to whose care the king had

intrusted the Borders. A fiercely contested fight ensued, ending—through the timely arrival of Home with auxiliaries—in a victory for Huntly, who made Bowes and many others prisoners. Godscroft tells that the king was so pleased by this victory that he presented the lands of Hirsle to Sir Andrew Ker of Littledean, who had been the first to bring him news of it.¹ But Henry had already raised the northern counties against Scotland, and after some attempts at pacification, Norfolk—who is already known to us as Surrey—called “The Scourge of the Scots,” led an army up the banks of the Tweed, and in eight days burnt the towns and hamlets of Ednam, Newton, Stichill, Nenthorn, the Spital of Smailholm, the two Muirdeans, and the two Broxlaws, Floors with the Fair Croft, Roxburgh, Kelso with its abbey, Long Sprouston, Redden, and Haddenston.²

It was now high time to retaliate, and James had assembled his army and set out for Kelso, when he was met at Fala Moor by news of Norfolk’s withdrawal, which had been occasioned by the failure of provisions. He wished to carry the war into the enemy’s country, but here unexpected difficulties arose. We have seen, in the steps which preceded the expedition against Armstrong, an example applied to the Border of that severe dealing with the nobles in which he imitated the policy of his ancestor, the first James. That severity was to bear fruit, for the nobles now refused to accompany him into England. From this point his sad story is well known: How an expedition was, nevertheless, sent to cross the Western March; how James unwisely insisted on appointing his minion, Oliver Sinclair, to the leadership; the consequent demoralisation of the force, and its rout by Dacre at Solway Moss, and James’s death from shame and resentment at Falkland three weeks later. He

¹ Vol. ii. p. 109.

² Ridpath, p. 540, note.

left as sole heir the most famous and the most unfortunate of all his race—a baby-girl scarce a week old. His natural son James—of whom we shall hear again—had before this been provided for out of the monasteries of Melrose and Kelso; and it may be noted in passing that the Border wars had evidently told severely on these foundations, for in his application to Rome regarding them, James describes David I.'s great establishments as "small monasteries,"¹ adding that the nearness of their situation to England exposed them in a peculiar degree to the infection of the reformed or heretical doctrines. This and the general depression of the Borders, which had been in progress since Flodden, may serve to account for the insignificant part which they were destined to bear in the approaching religious wars.

¹ "Monasteriola"—Ridpath, p. 542, note.

CHAPTER XI.

MATRIMONIAL SCHEME OF HENRY VIII.—HIS ANGER AT ITS DEFEAT—FIRST EXPEDITION OF HERTFORD—INCURSION BY LORD EURE ON JEDBURGH—ENGLISH RAIDS ON THE BORDER—ANGUS THREATENS VENGEANCE—BATTLE OF ANCRUM MOOR—MAID LILLIARD—HERTFORD'S SECOND EXPEDITION—DEFENCE OF KELSO ABBEY; ITS CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION—WHOLESALE DEVASTATION OF TEVIOTDALE—HERTFORD'S THIRD EXPEDITION—AT ROXBURGH AFTER BATTLE OF PINKIE—REPAIRS TO THE CASTLE, AND SUBMISSION OF BORDER GENTLEMEN—BUCCLEUCH SUBMITS; HIS PART IN THE FRENCH ALLIANCE—DE BEAUGUÉ'S NARRATIVE OF THE FRENCH ASSAULT ON FERNIHIRST—ATROCITIES PRACTISED BY BORDERERS ON THEIR ENGLISH PRISONERS—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE PARTS PLAYED BY THE BORDER COUNTIES IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS IN THE TWELFTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES; HOW ACCOUNTED FOR—DISSOLUTION OF THE BORDER MONASTERIES, AND APPROPRIATION OF THEIR LANDS—PROCEEDINGS OF THE LORD JAMES AGAINST BORDER THIEVES AT HAWICK—MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, IN THE BORDER COUNTIES—HER RIDE TO HERMITAGE—HER ILLNESS AT JEDBURGH—QUEEN MARY'S HOUSE THERE.

IN the death of James it became the object of Henry VIII. to bring about the union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of the infant Queen of Scotland with his own son and heir, Edward, then aged about five years. At first he sought to gain this end by fair means, and for a time circumstances seemed to favour him. Arran, who as heir-presumptive to the crown had been appointed regent, was on his side, as was the banished Angus, who now returned to Scotland and was reinstated in his estates. The French and Catholic party, who of course opposed him, were represented by the queen-mother and Cardinal Beaton. The first Parliament

of the new reign received his overtures favourably, and a treaty with England was concluded, Henry on his part undertaking, in the event of the marriage, to guarantee the independence of Scotland. But when he wished to go a step further and obtain possession of the person of the princess and the strongholds of the country,¹ as securities for the carrying out of his proposal, he found the will of the nation strongly opposed to him; and at this juncture the fickle Arran veered round.

Henry now completely changed his tactics, and in a fit of fury determined to take by force what he had failed to win by persuasion. His intention, in fact, seems to have been deliberately to revert to that policy of "bullying," or cowing into submission the weaker power by the stronger, which had been inaugurated by Dacre, and which is well expressed by the words of Hertford to the Provost of Edinburgh when that functionary sought to come to terms with him—that "whereas the Scottes had so many wayes falsed theyr faythes, and so manyfestely had broken theyr promysse, conformed by othes and seales, and certified by theyr hole Parliament, as is euydently knowen unto all ye worlde, he was sent thyther by the Kinges Hyghnes to take vengeance of their detestable falshed, *to declare and shewe the force of his Hyghnes sworde to all suche as sholde make any resistance unto his Grace's power*, sent thyther for that pourpose."² It is to this attitude on the part of the English that must be attributed the terrible exasperation of the ensuing campaigns, where

¹ "Jedwourth, Kelso, Roxborough, Hume Castle, the Hermitage, the Marshe, and Teviotdale" are afterwards specified as the places on which Henry had cast his eye (Hill Burton, vol. iii. p. 230).

² The Late Expedition in Scotland, made by the King's Highness's army under the conduct of the Right Honourable the Earl of Hertford, the year of our Lord God 1544 (Fragments of Scottish History, Edinburgh, 1798).

warfare is seen in its most barbarous and revolting forms, scarce redeemed by a single trait of chivalry. But what is even more deplorable at this time than any suffering inflicted upon Scotland is her own all but total paralysis. The fact was that she lacked a patriot; for this is one of those occasions in history when the time failed to breed the man. No one trusted Arran as a leader. Angus, who might have filled the *rôle*, had lost patriotism in exile, and it required a personal injury to sting him into resentment. Others of the more prominent men in the country, absorbed in considerations of self-interest, were content to wait upon events.

In the person of his brother-in-law, the above-named Hertford, the king had an excellent instrument for the carrying out of his present purpose. The earl was therefore now made lieutenant-general of the North, and despatched with a fleet and army to Scotland. He landed in the Forth, and meeting with but slight resistance, sacked Leith and Edinburgh, and having sent his fleet home laden with plunder, himself returned by East Lothian and Berwickshire, devastating as he went. An attempt made by Buccleuch and Home to intercept him at the pass of Pease was easily frustrated. An account of this expedition, rendered to the Lord Privy Seal, Lord Russell, by a friend who was with the army, is notable for the utter callousness of tone with which it alludes to "piles," towns, villages, destroyed, and worse still—as at Dunbar—to men, women, and children burnt and suffocated in their sleep—speaking of these things with the complacent indifference of a workman satisfied with a piece of work well done. The amount of destruction accomplished was very great, but so far our counties were untouched, for the Broughton referred to as spoiled is probably the place of that name near Edinburgh.

Scotland, however, was allowed no respite. It was still

early summer when Lord Eure, warden of the East Marches, with his son Sir Ralph, and other gentlemen of the English Border, made a forced march on Jedburgh and surprised the town. The provost, summoned to surrender, sought to gain time; but it being discovered that the townsmen had in the meantime "bent seven or eight peices of ordinaunce in the market-stede," Eure prepared forthwith to assault the city from three of its sides. To do this he had first to effect three breaches with his guns, and he had done no more when the townspeople, seized with panic, left the town in a body, to seek refuge in the adjoining woods. If the English account may be trusted, the very gunners deserted their pieces, leaving them undischarged. The English then burnt the abbey and many of the houses, and plundered the town. On their return journey they burnt the Tower of Crailing,¹ Cessford Castle, Otterburn, Cowbog, and Morebattle church; but on arriving at Kirk Yetholm they beheld flames rising from the distant villages of Tillmouth, Twizell, and Hetton, which led Sir Ralph Eure off at a gallop to encounter those Scots who had presumed to do as they were being done by. Within the next few days there were further raids on Sunlaws and Scraesburgh.² But, in fact, raid now followed raid almost as quickly as might be. On July 19 Fernihirst was attacked; on the 24th Long Ednam was burnt, many prisoners being made and much booty carried off. On September 6 Sir Ralph Eure burnt the town and church of Eckford, and the barmkyn of Ormiston, and having captured Moss Tower, burnt it also, slaying thirty-four persons within it, and carrying off more than 500 nolt, 600 sheep, and 100 horse-loads of spoil. On November 5 the men of the Mid March burnt Lessudden, in which were six-

¹ "Callyncrag."

² The Late Expedition, &c.

teen strong bastel-houses, slew several of the owners, and burnt much of the newly-harvested corn.¹ The chief "heroes" of these raids, and of others directed against other parts of the Scottish Border, were Sir Ralph Eure, Sir Brian Latoun or Latour, and Sir George Bowes.

Thus far we cannot but have been struck by the sheer demoralisation of the Scots, as shown at Edinburgh, the Pease, and Jedburgh. The barbarous treatment which the Borders were now undergoing served the purpose of stimulating them to at least a temporary union. Even Angus detached himself from England, and, stung to indignation by the defacement of the tombs of his ancestors at Melrose, and by the allotment of his possessions in Merse and Teviotdale to Latoun and Ralph Eure as a reward for their services, vowed to write the deed of sasine on their own skins for parchment, with a sharp pen and blood-red ink. This threat he amply fulfilled. Having united with Arran, he lay in wait for the English army, under Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Brian Latoun, as it retreated from Melrose towards Jedburgh. The English, hearing that his force was a small one, resolved to crush it; but Angus had recourse to the time-honoured tactics of the Scots, and allowed his adversaries to wear themselves out in searching for him. Meantime his own small body of men was recruited by the arrival of Scott of Buccleuch with a handful of retainers, and by that of Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, with 300. The English army, which besides Englishmen was composed of foreign mercenaries and of Scottish Borderers—who in the confusion of the times had taken service with England—numbered 5000 or 6000, and was by much the larger of the two.

¹ Ridpath, p. 550, note.

At length Eure and Latoun drew up their forces on Ancrum Moor, whilst the Scots, acting by Buccleuch's advice and still adhering to the traditional rules, dismounted and sent their horses to the rear. The English saw this movement imperfectly, and mistaking it for a retreat, rushed on—as they imagined—in pursuit. The mistake cost them the day. Advancing in disorder, they found themselves confronted by the dismounted Scots, who were compactly drawn up on an incline where they had been concealed from view, and who now charged down upon them. As the word to charge was given, a heron, disturbed from its haunt, rose from the neighbouring moss. Angus saw it, and in a spirit of heroic bravado cried, "O that I had my white goss-hawk here—we should all yoke at once!"¹ The rout of the English was immediate, and was materially assisted by the action of the Borderers serving in their ranks, who now tore off the red-cross badges which they wore upon their sleeves to distinguish them, and took the side of their own countrymen. So completely did the advantage lie with the Scots, that, whilst the English are said to have lost 200 slain and 1000 made prisoners, the Scottish loss is stated at two only.² Among the slain were Eure and Latoun.³ It has been asserted that the slaughter of Eure and other Englishmen was wanton,⁴ and it seems quite probable that the exasperation natural after the usage

¹ Godscroft, vol. ii. p. 122.

² Buchanan, p. 493, book xv. Leslie says three (book iv. p. 286).

³ Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, chap. 29; *The Douglas Book*, vol. ii. p. 270, &c.

⁴ "They slewe the Lorde Euers (whome otherwyse they mought have taken prisoner and saued) and cruelly kylde as many els of oure men as came into theyr handes."—*The Expedition into Scotlande of the Most Woorthely Fortunate Prince, Edward, Duke of Somerset, &c.*, by W. Patten, Londoner, 1548.

they had recently sustained may have found vent among the Scots. Even the women of the neighbourhood are said to have joined in the rout; and local tradition tells that a beautiful maiden who had followed her lover from Maxton to the battle, and seen him fall, herself rushed into the fray, where she was slain after slaying several of the enemy. It is commonly said to be from this heroine that the ridge from which the battle was fought received its name of Lilliard's Edge; but we have already seen that there is reason to suspect that the name is at least as old as the days of John of Gaunt. A stone, replacing one of older date, bears this inscription to her memory:—

"Fair Maid Lilliard lies under this stane,
Little was her stature, but muckle is her fame;
Upon the English louns she laid mony thumps,
And when her legs were cuttit aff, she fought upon her stumps."

The romance of the story suffers some abatement from the grotesque suggestions of the epitaph.

The news of Ancrum Moor, or Peniel Heugh—as it is sometimes called in contemporary documents—and of the death of his generals, threw Henry into a fit of ungovernable fury, in which he vowed to be avenged of Angus, to whom the Scots assigned the credit of the victory, but whom he accused of base ingratitude. Angus, however, laughed his threats to scorn, saying, "Is our brother-in-law offended that I am a good Scotsman, because I have revenged the defacing of the tombs of my ancestors at Melrose upon Ralph Euer? They were better men than he, and I ought to have done no less. And will he take my life for that? Little knows King Henry the skirts of Cairntable" (a lofty hill at the head of Douglasdale); "I can keep myself there from all

his English host!"¹ With the assistance of a French force the Scots now made an attempt to follow up the advantage gained in the battle by an invasion of England; but the disunion of the country rendered it unequal to the effort, which produced no substantial result.

There is some uncertainty as to the sequence of events at this time, but we may doubtless ascribe to a date shortly after this two letters of Hertford to the king, in which the general states that he has collected troops in the north to "requite the malice" of the Scots, and speaks of overrunning, wasting, and burning a great part of the country, as "the corn is very forward, and if they can destroy it, the Scots will have to live in the more penury all the year."² This is in August 1545. A month later the project is an accomplished fact. The former expedition had been directed against the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, but the defection of the Borderers at Ancrum Moor, together with the failure of an attempt to win over Buccleuch to the English party,³ marked the Borders as the scene of the present one. Though it lasted but fifteen days, its ferocity was probably unparalleled, even in the annals of Border warfare.

Having assembled his army at the standing-stone on Crookham Moor, in Northumberland, Hertford proceeded to march on Kelso. The town was easily occupied; but the garrison of the abbey—numbering 100, of whom twelve were monks—having refused the summons of York Herald to surrender, succeeded in repulsing the Spanish mercenaries who were the first to attack it. The building was then bombarded, and the

¹ Godscroft, vol. ii. p. 123.

² Cal. State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 54.

³ The attempt to seduce Buccleuch, and his diplomacy in meeting it, are amusingly described in a letter printed among the Hamilton Papers ('Miscellany of the Maitland Club,' vol. iv. p. 105 *et seq.*)

monastery captured; but the garrison still held out in the strong square tower of the church, whence some of them, though strictly watched, made their escape by means of ropes during the night. The next day the assault was resumed, the tower carried, and the defenders put to the sword.¹ The buildings were then sacked and destroyed—the order being given to “breik” them, and “thake of the leied, and outer myen the towres and strong places, and to owaier trowe all.” By the following Sunday this had been strictly carried out: the abbey was razed, and “all put to royen, howsses, and towres, and stypeles.”² The removal to Wark of the lead alone occupied the carts of the army for several days. A proposal to fortify Kelso and hold it for England was, however, rejected, chiefly on the ground that the town was commanded by the heights of Maxwellheugh, and that the nature of the soil was ill adapted for the throwing up of hasty defences. Hertford then rode on a visit of inspection to Roxburgh—“as strong a place to be fourtefied,” says the contemporary recorder, “as any is in Scotland.” The earl was yet to return to it.

After this the abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh participated in the fate of that of Kelso; but, unlike Kelso, they offered no resistance. Indeed, after leaving the place last named, Hertford seems to have carried all before him un-

¹ The “hundred” given above is a round number; in the contemporary account the exact figures are stated very circumstantially, as follows: “Scleyn of the Scottes to the nomer of 40, and thakeyn to the nomer of 5, and eskape by nyght 13; of the which 13, 2 was thakyn the nexht day, and a 11 eskape in lywf.”

² Contemporary Account of the Earl of Hertford’s Second Expedition to Scotland, and of the Ravages committed by the English Forces in September 1545 (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. i. p. 271). “Leied” is lead; to “outer myen,” to undermine; and to “owaier trowe,” to overthrow.

opposed. His motley and formidable army—which, numbering above 4000, included Irish kerns, with French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Greek mercenaries—swept on upon its work of devastation and left a desert behind it. To ensure against any suspicion of exaggeration in our statement of these facts, let us simply quote from the business-like *compte rendu* presented at the end of the campaign by those who had been engaged in it. The list of “fortresses, abbeys, frere-houses, market townes, villages, towers, and places,” burnt, razed, and cast down between the 8th and the 23rd September, comprises the following names (omitting places in Berwickshire):—

On the River of Twede.

First the abbey of Kelso raced and cast down; the town of Kelso brent; the abbey of Melrosse, Darnyck, Gawtenside, Danyelton, Overton, Eildon, Newton of Heildon, Maxton, Les-sudden, Rotherford, Stockstruther, Newtowne, Trowes, Makerston, the Manorhill, Charter-house, Luntoun Law, Stodrig tower razed; Flowres, Gallow Law, Broxe Law, Broxe mylne, the water-mill of Kelso.

On the River of Tiviot.

The freers near Kelso, the Laird Hog's house, the barns of Old Rockesborough town, the towre of Rockesborough raced, the towre of Ormeston raced, the town of Ormeston, Neyther Nesebett, Over Nesbet, Angeram, Spittell, Bune Jedworth, the two towres of Bune Jedworth raced, the Laird of Bune Jedworth's dwelling-house, Over Angeram, Nether Angeram, East Barnehill, Mynto Crag, Mynto towne and place, West Mynto, the Cragge End, Whitrick, Hassendean, Bank-hessington, Over-hessington, Cotes, Eshebank, Cavers, Bryeryards, Denhome, Lantoun, Rowcastle, Newtowne, Whitcheater house, Tympendean. Sum 36.

On the Water of Rule.

Rowle Spittel, Bedrowle, Rowlewood. The Wolles, Crossebewghe, Donnerles, Fotton, Weast leas. Two Walke mylnes, Tronnyhill, Dupligis. Sum 12.

On the River of Jedde.

The abbey of Jedworthe, the Freers there ; the towne of Jedworthe, Hundylee, Bungate ; the Banke end, the Neyther mylnes, Houston, Over Craling, the Wells, Neyther Craling, Over Wodden, Nether Wodden. Sum 13.

On the Ryver of Kale in Easte Tividale.

Over Hownam, Neyther Hownam, Hownham Kyrke, New Gateshaughe ; the tower of Gateshaughe, Over Grobet, Neyther Grobet ; Grobet mylne, Wyde-open, Crewkedshawes, Prymside, Mylne Rigge, Marbottell, Otterburne, Cessforthe, Over Whitton, Neyther Whitton, Hatherlands, Cesforth burne, Cesforth mains, Mowe-house ; the Cowe bogge, Lynton, Caverton, Sharpefrige, Frogden, Pringle stede, Mayne-house, Eckforde, Mosse-house, Wester barnes, Grahamslaw, Sunlaws, Heiton on the Hill, Neue Hawe, Maisondieu, the Brig end, St Thomas Chapell, Maxwellheugh, East-Woddon, West-Woddon, Howden. Sum 43.

On the Ryver of Bowbent [Bowmont] in East Tividale.

Mowe, Mowe Meusles, Clifton Cote, Coleroste, Elsheughe, Attonburne, Cowe, Woodside, Owsenopside, Feltershawes, Clifton, Haihope, Kirke Yettam, Town Yettam, Cherytrees, Barears ; the Bogge, Longhouse, Fowmerden.¹ Sum 19.

Finally, the total destruction accomplished by the raid in the two counties is thus succinctly stated:—

In Monasteries and Frearhouses	7
In Castells, Towres and Piles	16
In Market Townes	5
In Villages	243
In Mylnes	13
In Spytells and Hospittals	3
	<hr/>
	287 ²

¹ The original spelling has generally been preserved ; the names present a few puzzles.

² Collection of State Papers in the Reign of Henry VIII., &c. Published by the Rev. Samuel Haynes. Quoted in Proc. Soc. Scot. Ant., vol. i. p. 277.

One knows not whether more to bewail the barbarity of the invader or the supineness of the invaded!

But the work of the destroyer was not yet complete. Henry VIII. died in January 1547. In the autumn of that year the tyrannical *parvenu* Hertford, now Duke of Somerset and Protector of the realm, for the third time set foot in Scotland—his object being to carry on the policy of the late king, both by force and by tampering with such discontented Scots as he found willing to listen to his overtures. Ere he had reached the Border, however, the Laird of Mangerton and “a forty Scottish gentlemen of the East [West?] Borders” had presented themselves at his lodging at Newcastle and tendered their submission.¹ So much for the patriotism of Armstrongs! A full contemporary account of Somerset’s progress in Scotland has been preserved. It is well written, and its descriptions—as, for instance, those of the investment of Thornton and Innerwick—serve to set before the reader clear pictures of the warfare of the time. But, as county historians, we have to regret—as we again and again have to do in later years, and in the case of more pacific travellers—that Somerset travelled by the east coast route, so that for the present no mention of Teviotdale is made. At the Pease, the “trimmer,” Sir George Douglas, made some attempt to obstruct the advance of the army to his castle of Dunglass, by cutting trenches in the steep paths of the ravine; whilst Dand Ker seems to have hovered on the skirts of the enemy, and had on one occasion a close chase for his life. But there was no united endeavour to meet the invader, and when at last the Scots did indeed make a stand, it was only to meet with crushing defeat in the disastrous battle of Pinkie.

From Pinkie the English army returned southward by

¹ The Expedition into Scotland, &c. Dalzell’s Fragments, p. 27.

Lauderdale. Reaching Roxburgh on September 23, they encamped in what is now called the Friars' Haugh—described by the author of the narrative as a "greate fallowe felde" lying between Roxburgh and the pretty, but just then deserted, market-town of Kelso. The "great stone bridge with arches," which had formerly united the two towns, had been broken by the Scots themselves as a measure of defence. Somerset now revisited the site of the castle, and reverting to his scheme of two years before, as he found the outer walls still standing, resolved to execute such extempore repairs as time and the season would allow. This being decided on, the work was pushed on with the utmost speed—the captains of the army sending up their men by relays to assist the regular pioneers; whilst the Protector set an example which was eagerly followed by his officers, in himself labouring with a spade for two hours a-day. The object of the works seems to have been to strengthen the central part of the ruin by means of trenches and walls, whilst the existing walls were also patched with turf and furnished with loopholes. Within five days the whole was in an advanced stage towards completion. Whilst it had been in progress, many of the leading gentlemen of the neighbourhood had come to Roxburgh and tendered their submission, of whom the following is a list: the Lairds of Cessford, Fernihirst, Greenhead, Hunthill, Huntley, Markestone by Mersyde, Bonjedworth, Ormeston, Linton, Edgerston, Mertoun, Mowe, Riddel; George Trombull, John Hollyburton, Robert Ker, Robert Ker of Graden, Adam Kirton, Andrew Mather, Mark Ker of Littledene, George Ker of Faldonside, Alexander Macdowell, Charles Rutherford, Thomas Ker of the Yare, John Ker of Meynthorn, Walter Haliburton, Richard Hangansyde, Andrew Ker, James Douglas of Cavers, James Ker of Mersington, George Hoppringle, William Ormeston of Endmerden, John

Grymslowe. The country people of the neighbourhood had also supplied the army with provisions, for which one is sorry to hear they were well paid. When the time for moving came, Sir Ralph Bulmer was appointed to the command of the restored castle, with a garrison of 300, hackbutters and others, and 200 pioneers to complete what still remained of the works. Then the army, having crossed the Tweed—which was swollen—not without considerable difficulty and some loss, departed on its journey homewards.¹

To the inexperienced eye the state of Scotland might now seem wellnigh desperate. Harried and defeated herself, her strongholds were for the most part in English hands, and the men to whom she naturally looked for guidance, if they had not already submitted to England, were at least involved in the meshes of a Machiavellian intrigue. Buccleuch, one of the stanchest of the time, though hardly qualified by status for a national leader, had failed to “come in” along with his neighbours at Roxburgh; but seeing his lands at the mercy of the English, he shortly afterwards offered to submit. It scarcely improves the case to know that he had authority from Arran for thus acting.² Yet, in spite of all this, at bottom the national spirit of resistance to English oppression remained what it had always been; and thus the raids of Somerset and the rout of Pinkie only left the country more obstinately opposed than ever to the English match. What might not now have been accomplished by a patriot having skill to rally the nation to himself! As it was, French influence became paramount. The regency was transferred to the queen-mother,³ and the young queen was embarked for France. The approval of Parliament to her marriage with the Dauphin had been greatly facilitated by Buccleuch,

¹ The Expedition into Scotlande, &c.

² Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. 110.

³ In 154.

who, according to John Knox, swore "with many Goddis woundis" that "thei that wold nott consent should do war."¹

This was in July 1548. The expeditions of Grey of Wilton and of Lennox, though they sufficed finally to prove to Somerset that he had nothing to hope from Angus or his brother George, do not directly affect our district. The French had now sent over 6000 mercenaries, under an experienced captain named De Dessé, to assist in driving the English out of Scotland, and it is in following their doings that we are brought back to the Border counties. After gaining some advantages in the east country, De Dessé, at the request of the queen-mother, turned his attention to Teviotdale, where his first enterprise was the recapture of Fernihirst. The narrative of Jean de Beaugué, one of the Frenchmen who was with him, contains a spirited account of this affair.² It seems that the castle had been held for some three or four months by from sixty to eighty Englishmen, under a commander of singularly cruel and lascivious character. As the French captains, with some 200 harquebusiers, advanced to the assault, they were met by about five-and-twenty of the garrison, who had taken up a strong position to defend the approach to the castle. These were, however, driven back, first into the wood and then into the base-court of the fortress, ten of them falling dead or badly wounded by the way, almost all of them from blows delivered at close quarters. The French were unprovided with ladders, but with the aid of poles they succeeded in surmounting the enclosure wall, driving the English to seek refuge in the keep, which was then surrounded, so that "none of those within durst show

¹ History of the Reformation in Scotland (Bannatyne Club ed.), vol. i. p. 217.

² Histoire de la Guerre d'Écosse, pendant les Campagnes 1548, 1549 (Maitland Club), p. 101 *et seq.*

his nose." Protecting themselves by means of "tables" from missiles thrown from above, the assailants then proceeded to undermine the tower. When they had effected an opening, the garrison began to think that it was time to treat. The captain accordingly emerged through the aperture, and proposed to surrender on condition that his own life and those of his men were spared. Being answered briefly that "slaves have no power to treat with their masters," he returned within the tower. A company of Borderers now arrived upon the scene, and having dismounted and turned loose their horses, forced their way into the base-court. This served to increase the trepidation of the garrison, who knew that they had every reason to fear the Borderers' vengeance, so that the captain, quickly reappearing at the breach, was now for yielding himself unconditionally to two of the French officers. But a Borderer who happened to be present, and who recognised in the Englishman the ravisher of his wife and daughters, with one sword-blow severed the villain's neck, sending his head flying to a distance of four yards from the body. The act was greeted with acclamation by the Scots, who, after bathing their hands in the blood "with as much joy as if they had carried the city of London by assault," bore off the head and set it on a stone cross at the parting of three roads, that all who passed might look upon it. Such acts as these, and the finishing by the women of the wounded at Ancrum Moor,¹ serve to illustrate the temper to which the Borderers had been goaded. De Beaugué adds some ghastly details of their treatment of prisoners—telling us that they would indulge in trials of skill in dismembering them, and when their own supply of captives was exhausted, would purchase those of the French expressly

¹ Fraser says that Maid Lilliard "with other women took part in the sanguinary fray" (The Douglas Book, vol. ii. p. 272, note).

to torture them, parting even with their arms for this purpose. The author himself recalls giving a prisoner in exchange for a horse. The purchasers bound the hapless wretch hand and foot, and having dragged him to an open field, rode over him with lances at rest until he was dead, after which they cut up his body, and, distributing the pieces, bore them aloft in triumph on the points of their spears. Barbarous as this conduct was, De Beaugué maintains that the English had brought it upon themselves by their tyranny and cruelties. Ridpath, too, furnishes details regarding the gross relaxation of discipline in the English garrisons in Scotland.¹

But to return to our narrative. Having decided that Somerset's restored fortress at Roxburgh was practically impregnable, De Dessé lingered at Jedburgh, making inroads upon the English Border. But his troops suffered much from privation and sickness, and when an English force under the Earl of Rutland advanced against him, he had no choice but to evacuate his post. In April of the next year, 1550, the "rough wooing" of Mary Stuart by the English came at length to an end, a peace being proclaimed, by the terms of which Scotland was restored to her old boundaries.² In 1558 the queen became the wife of the Dauphin of France.

We have already indicated that the Borders were to play no prominent part in the religious agitations which were now to convulse Scotland. In this particular, nothing is more striking than the contrast between past and present. Under David I. of happy memory—who even more than Cuthbert is entitled to rank as patron saint of the Borders—the Border counties had been the very centre of religion and enlightenment in the country. But three centuries of rapine and bloodshed had sufficed to wrest from them the

¹ P. 567, note.

² Hill Burton, vol. iii. p. 281.

last shreds of this distinction. The glory of their Golden Age had departed, and we yet await its return. Even their old weight and importance as an integral part of the kingdom were much reduced, having gravitated towards the midland or "lowland" counties. For weight and importance hang by wealth, which is incompatible with reiterated devastation, and the state of society therefrom resulting. Nor does such discipline produce the thinker or the enthusiast; nor, where body and estate are in continual jeopardy, are men likely to be very curious or solicitous in finer questions affecting the soul. We are at liberty, therefore, to pass over the religious disturbances of this period, with the war between the queen-regent and the Lords of the Congregation which grew out of them, merely premising that the Border abbeys to a great extent escaped the defacement now dealt out to other buildings of the class, for the sufficient reason that Hertford's soldiers had already reduced them to ruin.¹

The Abbey of Jedburgh never recovered from the ill-usage it had undergone from the English in 1545. In 1559 the establishment was suppressed and its revenues annexed by the Crown, though Morton thinks it probable that a portion of them remained in the hands of Andrew, son of the fourth Earl of Home, who was abbot at the time, and was still alive in 1578. The office of bailie of the monastery, as well as that of bailie of Jed Forest, had long been held by Ker of Fernihirst, and in 1588 the bailiary of the abbey was restored to Sir Andrew Ker by a grant of James VI.;² whilst, accord-

¹ Kelso Abbey must be to some extent excepted from this statement, its "shattered remains" having been "still further dilapidated by the blind frenzy of the bigoted populace in 1580" (Morton, p. 105).

² Jedburgh Abbey and the Abbeys of Teviotdale, by James Watson, p. 60.

ing to Morton, in 1622 "the entire property of the lands and baronies which had belonged to the canons of Jedburgh was erected into a temporal lordship, and granted to him along with the title of Lord Jedburgh."¹ Watson, however, corrects the latter statement by saying that, after changing hands more than once, the lands were finally acquired by purchase by William, third Earl of Lothian, in 1637.²

The lands of Melrose Abbey were seized by the lords of the reformed party in 1559. In 1542 there had been 100 monks in the monastery, and probably as many lay brethren; but the author of the 'Monastic Annals' supposes that these numbers may have been reduced some time before the Reformation, in order to increase the revenue payable to the late king's natural son, James Stuart.³ In 1561, when the revenues of all the great benefices were valued, that of Melrose was stated as follows: "Scots money, £1758; wheat, 14 chalders, 9 bolls; bear, 56 chalders, 5 bolls; meal, 78 chalders, 13 bolls, 1 firlot; oats, 44 chalders, 10 bolls; capons, 84; poultry, 620; butter, 105 stone; salt, 8 chalders (paid out of Prestonpans); peats, 340 loads; carriages, 500."⁴ Out of this income, the author goes on to tell us, an allowance was granted to eleven monks and three portioners, of twenty marks a-year to each, with the addition of some payments in kind to the monks. According to Milne, the Dean of the Chapter, John Watson by name, "comply'd with the Reformation." What became of the rest of the monks is not known. The lands of the abbey, after being annexed by the Crown, were granted in 1566 by Mary to Bothwell, on whose forfeiture in the following year they reverted to the Crown. A life-interest in them, with the title

¹ Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 46.

² Jedburgh Abbey, p. 65.

³ See above, p. 245.

⁴ Monastic Annals, p. 244.

of Commendator, was then granted to James Douglas, second son of Sir William Douglas of Lochleven.¹ After this the main portion of the lands was granted to Sir John Ramsay, who was created Viscount Haddington, in consideration of his alleged services in rescuing James VI. from the attempt of the Earl of Gowrie at Perth. From Ramsay the lands passed, by the influence, as is said, of Ker, Earl of Somerset, the Court favourite, to his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Hamilton, an official of James VI., who in 1619 was created Earl of Melrose. Having been already divided, they now suffered further dismemberment, and a portion of them having been acquired by Walter, Earl of Buccleuch, Milne, writing before 1743, speaks of the remainder as having been "lately purchased by the Duchess of Buccleuch, whose predecessors were heritable bailies of this burgh of regality before the Reformation."²

The queen-regent, Mary of Lorraine, had granted the commendatorship of both Melrose and Kelso to her brother, Cardinal Guise, but the cardinal had reaped no benefit from the preferment when the Reformation deprived him of it. The main part of the estates was then held *in commendam* by Sir John Maitland, second son of Sir Richard Maitland, Keeper of the Privy Seal to Queen Mary,³ from whom it passed to Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, son of John

¹ Which Sir William afterwards succeeded to the earldom of Morton. The lineal descendant of Sir James Douglas of Lothian, who flourished in the fourteenth century, he succeeded to the earldom in terms of a new charter, which—on the death of the third earl without sons—passed on the succession, first, to his daughter's husband, the Regent Morton, then to the Earl of Angus, and finally to Sir William. Sir William's mother was also mother of the Regent Moray (Registrum Honoris de Morton, Bannatyne Club, Preface).

² Description of the Parish of Melrose, in Wade's reprint, p. 47 *et seq.*

³ Created Lord Thirlstane. His son John was the first Earl of Lauderdale.

Stuart, a natural son of James V.¹ After his attainder the lands went to Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, first Lord Roxburghe, who in 1602 obtained charters of the lands of Kelso and Holydene, with other estates of the monastery, which are still held by his representative, the Duke of Roxburghe.²

In August 1561 Mary returned to Scotland and took possession of her kingdom. There she found plenty of troubles at once to occupy her attention, not the least of which was the condition of the Borders. Well had it been for her if the others could have been as readily dealt with. Since an example had been made of the Armstrongs, thirty years before, a new generation of Border raiders had grown up, who set the law openly at defiance. Robbery and murder were matters of common occurrence, and it became necessary once more to enforce the lesson. The instrument chosen by Mary for this task was her natural brother James, whom she raised successively to the earldoms of Mar and Moray. High expectations were entertained of Moray in the country, nor did he disappoint them. The centre of the lawless district was Hawick, and to such a head had matters come that it was thought necessary to summon the nobles, freeholders, and fighting-men of eleven counties, with provisions and ammunition for twenty days, to accompany Moray. Having made a sudden descent on the town, and surrounded it with soldiers, he issued a proclamation in the market-place forbidding any citizen on pain of death to give shelter to a thief in his house. Fifty-three of the worst offenders were then seized, of whom—"for lacke of trees and halters"—twenty-two were put to death by drowning, presumably in Teviot or Slitrig. Twenty were "quytte" by the assize,

¹ He was invested with the title and estates of Bothwell, after the forfeiture of Mary's third husband.

² Morton, pp. 104, 105.

six hanged in Edinburgh, and the rest committed to the castle there.¹ By this exploit Moray won not a little honour, whilst the mention of the assize shows that his proceedings were free from the objectionable feature which has brought discredit on those of his father. Some five years later, when the queen's brief period of rule was already over, Moray, as regent, acting in company with the Earls of Morton and Home, repeated his expedition into the district, capturing on this occasion more than forty of the thieves of Liddesdale.²

The stage of Scottish history becomes at this period crowded, and the interest of the action grows intense and personal. On the Borders the figure which detaches itself in highest relief is that of Bothwell, the queen's lover. One scene of their brief but passionate love-drama was enacted there — a scene so full of romance as to have become a favourite subject of the poets. Mary visited the Borders more than once. On the 14th August 1566 she is, with Darnley and Moray, "at the hunting in Megotland," whence she proceeds on the 16th to Rodono and Cramalt,³ passing thence on the 19th to Traquair.⁴ The sport had not been good, and in hopes of improving it for future occasions, a proclamation was issued from Rodono ordaining that none should "tak upoun hand, in tyme cuming, to schute at deir

¹ Ridpath, p. 607. Letter of Randolph to Cecil, dated 8th July 1562 (Cal. of State Papers relating to Scotland, 1547-1603, vol. i. p. 637). This letter, quoted by Tytler from the MS., has now been given to the public (in 1898).

² Ridpath, p. 627. The recently published Border Papers contain no allusion to either of these performances.

³ "At Cramalt, about half-way up the valley [of Megget], there is said to have been a royal hunting-seat, and certainly there was here a tower of considerable size, of which the remains still exist, near the farm-steading of Cramalt."—Chambers's Peeblesshire, pp. 411, 412.

⁴ Mary, Queen of Scots, by D. Hay Fleming, p. 539.

with culverings, half-haggis, or bowis.”¹ On October 7 the queen, attended by her nobility, set out from Edinburgh to hold a justice-air at Jedburgh.² Bothwell was at this time lieutenant-general of all the marches, and had been with the queen, perhaps under colour of official attendance, during her recent hunting expedition in Megget. In view of what follows, it may be well here to trace rapidly the history of their friendship.

In the preceding March, Mary's secretary and favourite, David Rizzio, had been attacked in her presence, and murdered scarcely beyond it, with every circumstance of savage brutality. Her husband, Darnley, had not only instigated the murder, but had taken a leading part in it, and the cruelty of the outrage was increased by the fact that she was then within four months of becoming a mother. In the *mêlée*, Ker of Faldonsyde—one of several Borderers who were art and part in the conspiracy—had actually presented a pistol at his sovereign's breast. These were injuries which no woman could soon forgive—still less a queen, and one of Mary Stuart's proud and spirited temper. She spoke probably from the bottom of her heart when she avowed her intention henceforth to “study revenge.” The weakling Darnley soon asked her pardon, but from this time forward he grew more and more distasteful to her. Beneath the gallant shows of his exterior she had seen revealed the empty, spiteful, and cruel debauchee; and, even had he taken no part in the murder, it seems certain that her regard for him could not have lasted. In her distress she had the sympathy of Bothwell—whether genuine, or the mere assumption of one who had much knowledge of women, is scarcely to the purpose. Sympathy deepened into love, and to Mary Bothwell

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. p. 477.

² Diurnal of Occurrents (Bannatyne Club ed.), p. 100.

was a new type of lover. For one thing, her two husbands had been boys, whilst he was in middle life. Lord Hailes has devoted a chapter to showing that he was not so ill-favoured or ungainly as Brantôme and Buchanan would have us believe; but that is probably a matter of small moment. It is enough that he was a man of masterful disposition, whose bold and reckless personality seems for a time to have imposed itself on all who came in contact with him. Six years before, Throckmorton had described him to Elizabeth as a "glorious, rash, and hazardous young man." That he bore, not unearned, the reputation of a libertine, would probably do him no harm in Mary's eyes. In a word, she became infatuated. Her nature was ardent and generous to a fault, and she had played at love before — more than once to the undoing of others. But it was probably not till now that she sounded the depths of her own capacity for passion.

On her way to Jedburgh, Mary had perhaps reached Borthwick when she heard that, in doing his duty as lieutenant of the marches, the man with whose image her mind was now filled had met with a grievous misadventure. The facts were, that in pursuing thieves, in order to present them at the forthcoming court, he had chanced on a hand-to-hand encounter with a noted freebooter, one John Elliot of the Park, and that he now lay wounded at Hermitage.¹ After receipt of this news, Mary proceeded on her journey, and spent the next five or six days at Jedburgh, apparently as if nothing had happened. Meantime no doubt she experienced to the full a woman's reluctance to betray the state of her affections. But the tortures of anxiety were too much for her,

¹ The fray is circumstantially described in the 'Diurnal of Occurrents,' p. 100. The accounts of Bothwell's wound or wounds were various, and may have been exaggerated to Mary. The 'Diurnal' says that he received three—in the head, body, and hand.

and on the 16th October she yielded to impulse and determined to steal a day from her court life to proceed on horseback to Hermitage, and so satisfy herself once for all as to Bothwell's condition. Of course the proceeding was informal ; it was also indiscreet ; but she had a queen-like disregard for the pettinesses of public opinion, and discretion was never her strong point.

On what terms were she and Bothwell at this time, is a question likely to occur to the reader ; but it is one that cannot be answered with any certainty. If he choose to accept unreservedly the scandalous stories of their meetings in the Exchequer House at Edinburgh, or to believe in the authenticity of the "Casket" letters, he will regard their relations as already of the most intimate. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the atmosphere in which it was the queen's misfortune to draw breath was foul with calumny, whilst there are obvious features even in the present incident which tend to discredit allegations against her honour. There was, for instance, no secret in her visit, which must also necessarily have been brief, whereas, had she already sacrificed appearances, she would unquestionably have protracted it. In any case, the enterprise was one not only of great hardship and fatigue, but, considering the extremely bad character of the country to be traversed, of no little danger as well. The queen was, however, prepared to face all this. Instead of proceeding by the Note o' the Gate or by Wyndbruch, as would have been most direct, she chose a circuitous route, entering Liddesdale by Hawick, and thus accomplished, with the return journey, a day's ride of more than sixty miles. The reason assigned for the detour is that the one district had a less evil reputation than the other. Still the whole surrounding region was, and remains to the present day, wild, bare, and unfriendly in the extreme. As late as Sir Walter Scott's

day, a perilous morass, known as the Queen's Mire, was still pointed out by tradition as the spot where the beautiful rider and her palfrey had been in danger of perishing. At that time the spot was still "a pass of danger," exhibiting in many places the bones of horses which had been engulfed within it.

On her return to Jedburgh, after her interview with her lover, the queen became alarmingly ill. Her illness is most plausibly ascribed to "weariness of that suddayne and far travell, and gret distres of her mynd"—the distress of mind arising, in all probability, from mingled anxiety about Bothwell and aversion to Darnley. From the recorded symptoms a distinguished physician¹ infers that she suffered from *hæmatæsis*, or effusion of blood into the stomach, complicated possibly by a hysterical tendency—the whole induced by over-exertion and vexation. Maitland of Lethington, basing his opinion on Mary's own declaration, believed that Darnley was the root of her trouble. "Scho hes done him sa great honour without the advyse of her frends, and contrary to the advyse of her subjects, and he on the tother part hes recompensit her with sik ingratitude, and misusis himself sa far towards her, that it is ane heartbreak for her to think that he sould be hir husband, and how to be free of him scho sees na outgait."² All this was true enough, and probably it was at least that part of the truth which the queen found easiest to avow.

Her illness developing dangerous symptoms, she desired that prayers should be offered for her in the churches of Jedburgh and the neighbourhood, and even gave directions

¹ Quoted by Mr Hay Fleming, p. 139, from Small's "Queen Mary at Jedburgh."

² Letter of Lethington to Archbishop Beaton, quoted by Hay Fleming, p. 139, from Malcolm Laing's History of Scotland.

for her burial.¹ In Edinburgh, when the news arrived, the town bells were rung, and the churches remained open for public prayer.² On the 25th of the month her life was despaired of.³ It is even said that she was thought by those about her to be dead, so that, in compliance with the fantastic old Scottish custom, the windows of her apartment were set open. Her brother, Moray, at the same time actually took possession of her articles of value.⁴ During this time Darnley was absent, hawking and hunting in the west of Scotland with his father.⁵ He arrived at Jedburgh on the 28th, but being dissatisfied with his reception, departed the next day. The queen was probably by this time out of danger, her illness having yielded to the treatment of a skilled French physician, so that by the 30th of the month she was equal to issuing "peremptory orders" for procuring "silk, plaiding, taffeta, velvet, canvas, and thread" from Edinburgh,⁶ doubtless with the view of whiling away the hours of enforced confinement during convalescence. Meantime Bothwell had been brought in a litter to her house—doubtless, at least ostensibly, that he might be under better medical attendance than was available at Hermitage. About ten days later the queen was able to proceed to Kelso, and it was while there that she received the letters from Darnley which caused her to give utterance to those words—afterwards to be remembered against her—that "unless she was freed of him in some way, she had no pleasure to live, and if she could find no other remedy, she would put hand into herself."⁷ It is said that amid the many and bitter troubles of her later life she would often express the wish that she had died at Jedburgh.

¹ History and Life of King James the Sext, p. 2. Bannatyne Club ed.

² Birrel's Diary, October 25.

³ *Diurnal*, p. 101.

⁴ Mary Stuart, by Claude Nau, quoted by Hay Fleming, p. 141.

⁵ *Diurnal*, p. 101.

⁶ Hay Fleming, p. 141.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 420. "Put hand into herself"—*i.e.*, destroy herself.

Such is the history of this episode in the lives of a warm-hearted and noble-natured woman — one of whose personal fascination we can faintly judge by that which her very name continues to exercise to this day—and of a man whose consummate daring, by a succession of brilliant *coups-de-main*,¹ for a time carried all before it. The house associated by tradition with this interesting act in one of the world's great dramas may still be seen in the Backgate of Jedburgh: Until recently, beyond inevitable repairs, it had probably undergone little or no alteration since Queen Mary's day. At any rate its high thatched roof, the reserve of its grey façade pierced by small windows, and the venerable pear-trees of its green enclosure, were in perfect keeping with its history. This, unfortunately, is no longer the case. A room on the third floor, having a window looking into the garden, is pointed out as that in which the queen slept, whilst a quantity of old tapestry stored in the house is said to have covered the walls during the period of her residence.

¹ As on the occasions of his famous supper-party and of his abduction of the queen.

CHAPTER XII.

BISHOP LESLIE ON THE MANNERS OF THE BORDERERS—THEIR VIEWS OF RIGHT AND WRONG—BLOOD-FEUDS; GOOD FAITH THEIR RELIGION; BORN HORSEMEN; KNOWLEDGE OF THE COUNTRY; NEGLECT OF AGRICULTURE; DWELLINGS AND STYLE OF LIVING—RIDING BALLADS: "THE FRAY OF SUPORT;" "JAMIE TELFER O' THE FAIR DODHEAD;" "DICK O' THE COW;" "JOCK O' THE SYDE;" &c.—THE RISING IN THE NORTH—DOUBLE BETRAYAL OF NORTHUMBERLAND—AN ENGLISH SPY'S REPORT OF A CONVERSATION AT JEDBURGH—EXPEDITION OF SUSSEX AND HUNSDON—BORDERERS IN THE RAID OF STIRLING—PECULIAR TREATMENT OF A HERALD IN JEDBURGH—REBUILDING OF BRANXHOLM—METHOD OF PROCEDURE ON A "DAY OF TRUCE"—THE RAID OF THE REIDSWIRE—REGENT MORTON'S PALACE OF DROCHIL—RIVALRY BETWEEN THE FAMILIES OF CESSFORD AND FERNIHIRST—PROGRESS OF EVENTS ON THE BORDER—PROCEEDINGS OF FRANCIS STUART, EARL OF BOTHWELL—THE 'BORDER PAPERS'; BY-NAMES OF BORDERERS—OLD WAT OF HARDEN AND THE "FLOWER OF YARROW"—LEGEND OF "MUCKLE-MOUTHED MEG"—RESCUE OF KINMONT WILLIE—BUCCLEUCH AND ELIZABETH.

THAT ardent adherent of Queen Mary and Catholicism, John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, devotes a chapter of his history, written probably about 1572-76,¹ to a description of the manners of the Borderers. Perhaps the thing that surprises us most in this interesting passage is the bishop's reiterated and emphatic assertion that the Borderer will not spill his enemy's blood if by any means in his power he can avoid doing so. "For fra sheding of blude thay greitlie abhor," says he; and again, "Thay are war with al possible diligens that thay

¹ Leslie's History, Scot. Text Society, Introduction, p. xix.

shed nocht thair blude quha ar in thayr contrare.”¹ This is good hearing, and might serve to prove to us, if proof were needed, that in history nothing is easier than to jump to false inferences. At this point, however, consideration for enemies—one may add for neighbours also ²—may be said to end: life is respected, not so property. For though slaughter and like injuries are “by the law of God forbidden,” the Borderer is firmly “persuaded that all the goods of all men in time of necessity are by the law of nature common.” In fact, “the policy of driving a prey” is by him considered so lawful, not to say righteous, that never so fervently he says his prayers and tells his beads (for he remains a good Catholic) as when bound on a reiving expedition. Exceptions to the regard for human life, which is habitual with him, arise generally from motives of revenge, and especially from the “blood-feud,” which, though common throughout the country, flourishes especially on the Borders, where, indeed, no known laws avail to restrain it. Hence are seen deadly feuds, not merely of one against one, or of a few against a few, but of entire races—no matter how little affected by the original injury.

The prime virtue of the Borderer consists in good faith to foe as well as friend, which he carries to the point of a religion. There is no greater dishonour known to him than to have broken faith, and it is a dishonour felt to extend itself to an entire clan, who will often wish that God take him who has brought it upon them “out of this lyfe be ane honest deith.” Their manner of directing opprobrium to such misdoers is by placing a glove upon a spear-point and riding through the people, assembled at a march meeting “in

¹ Pp. 97, 100 (Dalrymple's translation).

² “Neque multum interesse putant, sive a Scotis sive ab Anglis furentur.”

exprobratione and schame of him quha crakit his credence."¹ Unlike his more northern fellow-countryman, the Borderer is a horseman born. "A filthie thing thay esteime it, and a verie abjecte man thay halde him that gangis upon his fute, ony voyage. Quhairthrouch cumis that al ar horsmen." A fleet horse is his fortune, and beyond that and cleading for himself and wife, he recks not of world's gear. The nature of the country where he dwells enables him to laugh to scorn the armies of an enemy, for "if out of thick woods he be chased, to high mountains he repairs; if out of mountains he be driven, to the banks of rivers and pools he flees." The treacherous character of the ground also befriends him, abounding as it does in mires which to the skillless present a fair appearance—like that in which we have just seen the beautiful queen become entangled. But over these morasses, to others impassable, the Borderer has the art not only to make his own way, but even to teach his shoeless horse—by "bowing its hocks"—to pass safely.

On predatory incursions the Borderer's knowledge of the country stands him in good stead—whence on such knowledge he sets the greatest store, for it enables him to be concealed during the day in places where he and his horse may enjoy rest and refreshment; and, having secured his booty, to lead it home by night by paths known only to himself.² Seldom, except when sleuth-hounds are employed, does it happen that he is followed up successfully. But even when overtaken and overpowered, he has a resource left in his eloquence, which is such as to move his adver-

¹ The man thus treated was said to be "made a bauchle of"—an insult only to be wiped out by deadly combat.

² In unerring knowledge of the hill fastnesses, the Border shepherd is the heir of the Border reiver.

saries, "however severe," "if not to pity, at least to wonder vehemently."

Distressing experiences of warfare, together with success in reiving, have brought this singular and individual being to hold agriculture cheap—and this notwithstanding the fact that Teviotdale at least is "plentiful in corn."¹ With an echo of Homer, which perhaps is not unsought, Leslie further characterises that district as "abounding in many and bold men of war." Their living, he tells us, is simple and frugal—flesh, milk, cheese, and "parched barley" constituting their staple fare. They care neither for wine nor beer; and, as in Froissart's day, use little bread. Their dwellings are for the most part mere huts or cotes, the burning of which they behold without much concern. Of course they have stronger buildings also, but the passage in which these are described is a very puzzling one.² The most plausible explanation of it seems to be that the buildings referred to consisted of wooden ramparts, or stockades, strengthened with turf,³ and that the name of "peel" was by degrees transferred from these to the stone towers which in course of time entirely superseded them. The only recreations mentioned by the bishop as in favour among the Borderers are music and the singing of ballads relating either the deeds of their forebears or their own ingenious achievements in "driving a prey."⁴ Such, then, is Leslie's character of our ancestor in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and surely—take him for all in all, and at his best—he is a man in whom his successors may still see plenty to be proud of. At the least he holds

¹ Leslie, p. 10.

² "Potentiores pyramidales turres, quas *pailles* vocant, ex sola terrâ, quæ nec incendi, nec nisi magna militum vi ac sudore dejici possunt, sibi construunt."

³ Peel: its Meaning and Derivation, p. 28.

⁴ Historie of Scotland, p. 97 *et seq.*

by the three great virtues of truth, courage, humanity; and if his sense of what is due to his fellow-man be in certain other respects at fault, much of the blame must in fairness be ascribed not to himself but to his history and environment.¹

Of ballads and songs of the class alluded to by Leslie as finding favour among Borderers, a number have come down to us. Of these the wildest, if not the most stirring, is the rant or rallying-song known as "The Fray of Suport," or Sowport, on Kershope—a chant quite worthy to be sung by one of those traditional Border-women of whom the historian relates that they would not scruple to take the lives of their own husbands when these returned to them vanquished from the field. According to Scott, this screed of discordant verse would be chanted in a wild recitative, swelling at the burden into a "long varied howl, not unlike to a view-hollo"; and one can scarcely repeat the lines to-day without conjuring up a vision of sturdy Borderers tumbled out of sleep to follow up the baying of the bloodhound and the wisp blazing at the spear-head, and take part in the pursuit of the plunderer.

But perhaps the best specimen of the "riding" ballads that has been preserved is "Jamie Telfer o' the Fair Dodhead." The Dodhead is a lonely tower in the wild country lying south of Ettrick. One night it is beset by the English captain of Bewcastle, who makes a clean sweep of the kye:—

"There's naething left in the fair Dodhead,
But a greeting wife and bairnies three,
And sax poor ca's² stand in the sta',
A' routing loud for their minnie."

¹ Hector Boece, describing the Borders fifty years earlier, draws a much darker picture than Leslie: "Nocht allanerlie in Annandail, bot in all the dalis afore rehersit [those of Tweed, Teviot, Esk, Ewes], ar many strang and wekit thevis, invading the cuntre with perpetuall thift, reif, and slauchter, quhen thay se ony trublus time," &c.—Bellenden, ed. 1821, vol. i. p. 27.

² Calves.

Almost beside himself with distress, Jamie Telfer, the plundered owner, sets off to rouse the countryside, and after running ten miles comes to Stobs Hall, on Slitrig. But Gibbie Elliot,¹ the laird of Stobs, is deaf to his entreaties, bidding him "gae seek his succour where he paid blackmail." Then poor Jamie turns him to the Teviot-side, and at Coultart Cleuch, the house of a kinsman, and Catslack-hill, he meets with better success. Recruiting his party as he goes, he reaches Branhholm Ha', where his tale rouses the sympathy of "auld Buccleuch," and at once all is stir and movement for a rescue :—

" 'Gar warn the water, braid and wide,
Gar warn it sune and hastilie !
They that winna ride for Telfer's kye,
Let them never look in the face o' me !

' Warn Wat o' Harden, and his sons,
Wi' them will Borthwick Water ride ;
Warn Gaudilands, and Allanhaugh,
And Gilmanscleuch, and Commonsides.' "

These are all Scotts living on Borthwick and Teviot, near the castle of their chief.

" ' Ride by the gate at Priestthaughswire,
And warn the Currors o' the Lee ;
As ye cum down the Hermitage Slack,
Warn doughty Willie o' Gorrinberry.' "

Taking the road through Liddesdale, in order to intercept the fugitives at the ford of Kershope or Ritterford, and still rousing the country as they ride, the rescue-party come up with

¹ Probably the founder of the family of Elliot of Stobs, nicknamed "Gibbie wi' the Gowden Gartens." The author of 'The Border Elliots' denies the possibility of this (p. 253), but on grounds of historical accuracy scarcely applicable to a form of poetry so loose and so subject to successive modifications as the ballad (cf. the "Battle of Otterburn"). Still, it is only fair to say that another version of this poem exists, in which the *roles* played by Scott and Elliot are reversed.

the marauders at the Frostylee burn, near Mossypaul. A brief parley ensues ; but Bewcastle is determined not to yield his prey. Then young Willie Scott—probably a natural son of Buccleuch—gives the word to "set on" :—

" Then till't they gaed wi' heart and hand,
The blows fell thick as bickering hail,
And mony a horse ran masterless,
And mony a comely cheek was pale."

Young Willie falls slain, and Harden, "greeting for very rage" at the sight, cries for revenge :—

" But he's ta'en aff his gude steel cap,
And thrice he's waved it in the air ;
The Dinlay snaw was ne'er mair white
Nor the lyart locks o' Harden's hair.

' Revenge ! Revenge ! ' auld Wat 'gan cry,
' Fye, lads, lay on them cruellie !
We'll ne'er see Teviot-side again,
Or Willie's death revenged sall be.'

O, mony a horse ran masterless,
The splintered lances flew on hie,
But or they wan the Kershope ford,
The Scotts had gotten the victory."

The Captain is wounded, and over thirty of his men slain. Then the Scotts see how their victory may be improved, and turn the tables by pushing on to the Captain's house at Stanegirthside, on the English bank of the Liddell, and driving off *his* cows.

The vivid and circumstantial portrayal of successive scenes in the above ballad suggested to Veitch that it might be the composition of one who actually had witnessed the events described. But these attributes are merely such as are characteristic of all the Border ballads that have come down to us, every one of which appears to bear the impress of actu-

ality. Speaking further of "Jamie Telfer," the Professor says more happily: "The whole spirit of the old Border life is there—in its fidelity to clanship, its ready daring, its fierceness of fight and fence, its delight in romantic deeds, and, withal, in its heart of pathos." He adds the characteristic utterance that "the power and truth of individual manhood were never more thoroughly tested than in the wild grips of a Border raid."

The ballad of "Dick o' the Cow" tells how one of the Armstrongs is outwitted by the jester of the English warden, a long-headed "innocent," who, having had his own three cows stolen, visits Puddingburn House in Liddesdale, and being allowed to occupy an "auld peat-house" there, rides off during the night with two of Armstrong's horses, having hamstrung the rest to prevent pursuit. So far the laugh is with Dickie; but legend tells of a terrible vengeance which overtook him some years afterwards. "Jock o' the Syde," "Archie o' Ca'field," and "Kinmont Willie" tell of further feats of prison-breaking. But of the last-named of these more anon. Rough, and at times tedious, these ballads, if judged as a whole, are invariably spirited productions, which would be interesting, if on no other ground, for the traces and hints of extinct Border manners which they afford. Most of the events described by them belong to the historical epoch at which we have now arrived.

Turning from poetry to prose, we find that during the period now under consideration—to wit, the thirty or forty years immediately preceding the Union of the Crowns—the relations between the two countries remained of a specially delicate character. For, at the outset, Scotland was ruled by a sovereign whose title to the English throne was by many considered superior to that of the offspring of Henry VIII.'s union with Anne Boleyn; whilst even when Elizabeth had her

rival under lock and key, her grounds of apprehension were by no means at once set at rest. The division which had followed Mary's abdication and defeat at Langside was perhaps rather less one of political parties than of religious sects. The Duke of Norfolk, who had found opportunity to pay his addresses to the captive queen in her English prison, was at the head of the English Catholic party, which also counted in its ranks the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the representatives of the great northern families of Percy and Nevill. A rising of the latter, hastily entered upon, was as hastily repressed; and though the Scottish regent, Moray, had prepared to take arms against them, the two leaders sought a refuge where the Borderers, under Buccleuch and Fernihirst, still adhered for the most part to the old faith and the queen's party. Again we have an instance of the bad faith of an Armstrong, for it was by Hector of Harlaw, a member of that family, that Northumberland was betrayed to Moray.¹ But a still more shameful piece of treachery was yet to be practised at the expense of the unfortunate nobleman. Apprehended in 1569, he was confined for two years in the prison lately vacated by Queen Mary at Lochleven. By the end of that time Morton was practically supreme in the country — the degenerate son of a degenerate father,² but one to whom on occasion still adhered something of the grandeur of the race whence he was sprung. In the present instance that grandeur was conspicuous by its absence. Unmindful alike of the noble rivalry of their houses, and of favours received in his own person in the past, he stooped to sell his captive for a

¹ The deed was regarded as one of such typical baseness that to "take Hector's cloak" became a phrase for betraying a friend (F. H. Groome's *Short Border History*, p. 106. Rutherford, Kelso, 1887).

² He was the second son of the "trimming" Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, brother of the sixth Earl of Angus, who fought at Ancrum Moor.

sum of money to Elizabeth. Northumberland was beheaded at York in September 1572.

Returning, however, to the due order of events, we learn that Westmorland, with others who had been implicated in the rebellion, found a temporary asylum at Fernihirst or Braxholm. Some light is thrown on the position of parties on the Border at this time by the narrative of Robert Constable, an English spy. Constable describes how, on gaining admission to Fernihirst's house in Jedburgh, he found assembled there "many guests of divers factions — some outlaws of England, some of Scotland, some neighbours thereabout." They were drinking ale and playing at cards for "plack" and "hardheads,"¹ and having insinuated himself into their company, the spy proceeds to report the conversation he heard. It seemed to be the general opinion that the regent (who will be remembered as having made his name respected on the Border) would not, for his own honour or that of the country, deliver up the earls, if he had them both, except in exchange for the queen; "and if he would agree to make that change, the Borderers would start up in his contrary, and reive both the queen and lords from him, for the like shame was never done in Scotland, and that he durst better eat his own lugs than come again to seek Fernihirst." The listener adds that "Hector of Harlaw's head was wished to have been eaten among us at supper."²

At the very time of the assassination of that champion of Protestantism, the Regent Moray, Buccleuch and Fernihirst made an inroad upon the English Border. On this, Elizabeth prepared to retaliate, first, however, issuing a manifesto in which was set forth her grievance—namely, that her rebellious subjects were maintained by outlaws on the Borders, whilst

¹ Small coins.

² Quoted by Groome, p. 106.

her action in taking the law into her own hands was justified by the alleged inability of the present Scottish Government to control the Borderers.¹ Sussex and Hunsdon then crossed the Middle March and directed operations in particular against lands owned by the names of Scott and Ker. Thanks, however, to a timely submission, Cessford escaped unharmed. Proceeding up Teviot, the English generals destroyed the dwellings on either bank of the river for a breadth of a mile or two, including the Moss Tower—situated in a marsh in the neighbourhood of some caves, where the country-people had stored their property, which they defended valiantly but vainly. Reaching Jedburgh, the army divided, and whilst one portion destroyed Fernihirst and the houses of Hunthill and Bedrule, the other continued its progress up Teviotside to Hawick. Here the town was committed to the flames—an exception, however, being made for the tower of Douglas of Drumlanrig,² who adhered to the party of the young king. Upon reaching Branhholm it was found that, by Buccleuch's orders, the house had been already burnt. Nothing, therefore, remained to be done but to blow up the walls. The castle is described by Hunsdon as "a very strong house, and well set, and very pleasant gardens and orchards about it."³ Finally, the banks of Bowmont and Kale were devastated. In all, it is computed that fifty strong castles and peels, and above three hundred villages, were razed, overthrown, and burnt in this expedition.⁴ Thus ended the last, and one of the most ruthless, of English incursions upon the Scottish Border.

The Earl of Lennox having now succeeded to the regency,

¹ Hill Burton, vol. v. p. 23.

² A part of which is incorporated in the present Tower Hotel.

³ Hunsdon to Cecil, 23rd April 1570, quoted in Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. 154.

⁴ Scott's Border Antiquities, vol. ii., Appendix v., p. lx.

the dissensions between Queen's-men and King's-men reached the point of civil war, and Kirkaldy of Grange, leader of the former party, having planned a stroke against the king's Parliament assembled at Stirling, knew that he could not do better than enlist the services of Buccleuch and Fernihirst. Approaching the town in the small hours of the 4th September 1571, the Borderers found it unguarded, and succeeded in taking possession without striking a blow. They might now have carried all before them, had not their plundering instincts led them to disperse in quest of horse-flesh. Whilst they were thus occupied, the townspeople rallied under Mar, who was keeper of the castle, and the position of affairs was quickly reversed. Buccleuch, who had made Morton prisoner, now found himself the prisoner of Morton. But the two were nearly connected,¹ and the captive seems to have been speedily released. Lennox was slain in the fray. The Borderers fled, and as they had secured the horses before doing so, pursuit was impossible.

We have, however, already seen that the Borders were not unanimous—Drumlanrig was a King's-man ; Cessford had submitted to James, or to Elizabeth, which was the same thing. The town of Jedburgh was now to demonstrate in perfectly unequivocal fashion the direction in which its sympathies lay. It happened that a herald had been sent there by Queen Mary's party to read a proclamation in the market-place. He had proceeded so far as to state that the queen's Parliament assembled in Edinburgh—in opposition to that in Stirling—had found all proceedings directed against her Majesty null, and that all men should henceforth obey her only, when the provost abruptly cut him short. The unfortunate pursuivant was then ordered to come down from the steps of the town cross, and having been forced to swallow his parchment,

¹ Morton was uncle on the father's side to Buccleuch's wife.

was "caused loose down his points," when correction was administered with a bridle, as to a schoolboy.¹ To avenge so singularly galling an insult, Buccleuch and Fernihirst marched against the town. But the townspeople, being joined by Cessford, and supported by troops under Ruthven which had been hastily sent to their aid by the Government, succeeded in defeating the assailants. The capture first of Dumbarton and then of Edinburgh Castle, with the execution of Kirkaldy and the suicide of Lethington, dealt the death-blow to Queen Mary's cause in Scotland, and Buccleuch had soon leisure to return to the rebuilding of his house of Branhholm. This, however, he did not live to complete, dying at the early age of twenty-five.² His labours and those of his wife were commemorated by inscribed stones inserted in the building, which also bore the arms of Scott and Douglas.³

In the summer of 1575 took place the last of the great Border frays, properly so called. The occasion was one of the periodical march days, held by the wardens on either side for redress of grievances. The form of procedure at these meetings, which had by this time become stereotyped, required the injured parties to send in their bills of complaint beforehand to their own warden, by whom these would be handed on to his colleague across the Border, whose business it then became to arrest the parties accused, or at least to

¹ Calderwood's History, quoted in Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. 156.

² An abstract of a codicil to his will is printed in the Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. 158. It is dated at Hawick, 11th April 1574, and appoints Morton guardian of the testator's wife and family. The sum of the inventory of his "goods and gear," which consist almost wholly of the cattle, hogs, sheep, farm produce, utensils, and the other stock on his lands, amounts to £4742, 19s.

³ The castle originally consisted of a quadrangle with a tower at each corner. Of this there remains now but one tower, popularly known as the Nebsy, with some arched vaults, on which rests the lower storey of a part of the more modern building.

summon them to appear at the next march meeting. The meetings, having been proclaimed in the market-towns on either side, were usually largely attended, being, in fact, occasions of commerce and pleasure as well as of business; when pallions (tents) would be set up, and feasting and drinking, sports, dice, and card-playing indulged in on the ground. On the arrival of the wardens, messages were exchanged, formally demanding and conceding that truce be kept till sunrise the next day. Then each warden held aloft his hand in token of good faith, and having proclaimed the truce upon his own side, advanced to meet his colleague, whom he saluted and embraced, and so the business of the day began. It can scarcely have escaped the reader's notice that these conditions presented elements of risk, whilst the slaying of Ker of Fernihirst by the Bastard Heron will be remembered as an instance of the worst apprehensions being realised.

The march meetings were generally held on the Scottish side of the Border. On the present occasion the Reidswire, or pass into Reedsdale from the northern slopes of Carter Fell, had been named as the scene of the conference. The meeting opened amicably,¹ but in course of transacting the ordinary business of hearing cases and redressing wrongs, a cause of dispute chanced to arise between Sir John Forster and Sir John Carmichael, the respective English and Scottish wardens—the latter demanding the cession of a certain English thief named Farnstein, from which the former excused himself on some apparently insufficient ground. A personal element

¹ "Yett was our meeting meek eneugh,
Begun wi' merriment and mowes,
And at the brae, aboon the heugh,
The clark sat down to call the rowes."

—Ballad of the Raid of the Reidswire.

seems to have been imported into the quarrel,¹ and words had waxed high, when the English bystanders, espousing too warmly the cause of their chief, discharged a flight of arrows among the Scotsmen. By this one Scot was slain and several were wounded. Taken thus unprepared, the Scots, who were comparatively few in number² and for the most part unarmed,³ took to flight. But ere they had gone far, being met and reinforced by a party from Jedburgh who were on their way to attend the meeting, they returned to the scene of action and succeeded in driving the English down the southern slopes of Carter. In this encounter were slain Sir George Heron of Chipchase, keeper of Reedsdale and Tynedale, a man much esteemed on both sides the Border, and twenty-four of his countrymen. Among the captives were the English warden, his son-in-law, Francis Lord Russell, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, Cuthbert Collingwood, James Ogle, and Henry Fenwick. These were brought before the Regent Morton at Dalkeith, who, feeling the weakness of his case, had the tact to receive them courteously, and to dismiss them to their homes, after having detained them for a few days in order that their resentment might abate. By subsequent well-timed concessions, he also contrived to allay the wrath of Queen Elizabeth. Among Scottish victims of the fray is mentioned the

¹ "Carmichael bade them speik out plainlie
And cloke no cause for ill nor good;
The other, answering him as vainlie,
Began to reckon kin and blood."

² "Of other clans I cannot tell,
Because our warning was not wide."

³ "But little harness had we there;
But auld Bedrule had on a jack,
And did right weel, I you declare,
With all his Trumbills at his back."

—Ballad of the Raid of the Reidswire.

Laird of Mow.¹ The ballad of the "Raid of the Reids-wire" has a special interest as a bead-roll of Borderers from both countries, with generally some hint of the attributes of each.

If subservient to Elizabeth, Morton was as a ruler wellnigh pitiless, and his leaden *régime* has left in the Border counties an ideally appropriate memorial. In 1578, when avarice and unscrupulous ambition had made him hateful throughout the kingdom, he resigned the regency, and withdrawing into the country, designed for himself, in the words of an old local writer, "a noble recess and retirement from worldly business." Choosing his site—for the "pleasure of the place and the salubrity of the air"—upon the brow of a knoll commanding views of the valleys of Lyne, Tarth, and Tweed, he raised the gloomy pile of Drochil. The building—intended less for a castle of defence than for a palace—was planned upon a scale of singular magnificence. But the betrayer of Northumberland did not live to realise his dream. He soon repented him of having resigned the sovereign power, but that step had already produced irreparable results. Having incurred the jealousy of Stewart, Earl of Arran, the infamous favourite of the young king, he was brought to trial upon the pretext of his participation in the murder of Darnley, and was condemned. Once removed beyond the reach of worldly considerations, the stern dignity of his character seems to have shone out. On the night after receiving his sentence he slept soundly, observing when he awoke that till then he had lain sleepless, thinking how he might defend himself, but that now his mind was relieved. He likewise freely forgave his accuser, declaring that howsoever men had carried themselves towards him, he felt assured that God had dealt justly by him,

¹ History of King James the Sext, p. 153; Ridpath, p. 650.

and that he suffered nothing which he had not merited.¹ He was executed, June 1581. About the mode of his execution there was a singular irony, for he was the first victim of a new species of guillotine, called the Maiden, which he had himself introduced into Scotland to behead the Laird of Penicuik, who notwithstanding died peacefully in his bed.² The identical instrument is still preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. With Morton's death disappeared, in a manner not yet satisfactorily accounted for, the vast treasures which were the fruits of his oppression and corruption as a ruler. In life he had the reputation of trafficking with wizards, and desiring to pry into futurity. His castle of Drochil still remains an example of what is perhaps the most melancholy spectacle in creation—a structure which has passed direct and without intermediate stage from incompleteness to decay. Over the front of the south entrance appear in raised letters the initials J.E.O.M.—for James, Earl of Morton—with the “fetter lock” of a warden of the marches.³

So long as a Scottish king was a minor it might safely be predicted that there would be a struggle of parties for the custody of his person. Accordingly the “Raid of Ruthven” now transferred young James VI. from the influence of the favourites Stuart of Ochiltree, Earl of Arran, and Esmé D'Aubigny, Duke of Lennox, to the keeping of Angus, Mar, and Gowrie. But anon, in the summer of 1583, the king's escape at St Andrews drove Gowrie to the block and his associates across the Border; whilst the Catholic faction once

¹ Spottiswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 278 (Bannatyne Club ed.)

² Pennecuik's *Description of Tweeddale*, ed. 1815, p. 189, &c.

³ The estate became the property of John, Lord Maxwell, who by virtue of his descent from a co-heiress of the third earl took the title of Morton upon the regent's death.

more came into power, with Arran as lieutenant-general of the marches. Lennox had died—heart-broken, as is said, by the eclipse of his fortune. But the death of Francis Russell, whom we have already seen made prisoner at the Reidswire, in a subsequent and similar fray on the Mid Marches, in 1585,¹ paved the way for Arran's fall, which was consummated by a second seizure by Angus of the king's person at Stirling.

Buccleuch was still a minor, and Cessford and Fernihirst alternated in the wardenry of the march. Their rivalry for this appointment, and, as we have seen, for the superiority of Jedburgh, had ere this caused bloodshed: it was now to prove fatal to William Kerr of Ancrum, a man of deserved credit in the councils of the Borders. The circumstances were these. Fernihirst having died in ward—to which he had been committed for his share of responsibility for the death of Russell—Ancrum had exerted himself, during the minority of the heir, to uphold the interest of the family. In so doing he had offended the "Lady Cessford." She, being a woman of haughty spirit, then worked upon her son's feelings until she had induced him to take Kerr's life. The murder, like that of Branxholm, was committed by night in the streets of Edinburgh. Cessford fled, but was soon pardoned, "upon satisfaction made to the gentleman's children."²

Meantime the King of Scots had become bound to Elizabeth, not only by the money allowance which she paid him—somewhat irregularly—and which his poverty made an important consideration, but also by the prospect of succeeding to her crown, and hence it came about that his practical expression of resentment at the execution of his mother was confined to permitting incursions on the marches.³ None the

¹ Border Papers, vol. i. p. 189 *et seq.*

² Spottiswood's History, vol. ii. p. 411. ³ Border Papers, vol. i. p. 247.

less, the situation of affairs between the two countries was for a time very critical, for the sailing of the Armada was imminent, and both France and Spain were negotiating to win James to their interest. In these circumstances Huntingdon was appointed lieutenant-general of the English marches, with power to raise 10,000 men;¹ whilst there was even a surprising proposal on foot to strengthen the defences of the English Border by restoring the Roman Wall.² The crisis was, however, tided over, and James having set forth to fetch home his Danish bride, the Laird of Mangerton presently received no more formidable commission than to hunt venison for three days in Liddesdale, to assist in furnishing the wedding-feast.³

The next five years of the reign are specially notable for the disturbances created by a being who may serve for the type of those turbulent and desperate characters which the old Borders had the faculty of breeding—men who seemed to fear neither God nor man, and in considering whose history we can but deplore that a high spirit and demonic energy were not directed towards better ends. Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, was the son of a bastard of King James V.—the offspring of that king's connection with Janet Hepburn, the sister of Queen Mary's third husband. Stuart had been invested in the castle of Hermitage and the lands of Liddesdale, and having married the widow of the late Laird of Buccleuch—herself a daughter of the seventh Earl of Angus—had become rich in possessions and connections in the Border country. Relations between himself and his royal

¹ Border Papers, vol. i. p. 289.

² Vol. i. p. 300.

³ Vol. i. p. 340. Letter of Bothwell to Mangerton, dated September 22, 1589, commencing, "Trustye frend, ye sall not fail to pas with Quithaugh and Mertine Ellet [of Stobs], and hunt thre dayes, . . . for some venyson to the Kingis marriage, quhilk is to be on Sondaye cum aught dayes, because we are desyerd to that effect."

kinsman seem at first to have been extremely friendly ; but presently the earl conceived the mad idea of seizing the king's person and governing the kingdom in his name. With this view he consulted with certain professors of the occult sciences ; but his proceedings having taken air, he was by the royal order placed in ward. He now threw restraint to the winds, and rallying some of the more turbulent of the Borderers, among whom he was extremely popular, on the night of December 27, 1591, he effected a secret entrance into the Palace of Holyrood. Sir James Melville, who was present on the occasion, has left a spirited account of what followed.¹ The cry of "Justice, Justice ! A Bodowell, a Bodowell !" broke suddenly the stillness of the night, and but for a brief delay on the part of James Douglas of Spot, the intruders might have carried all before them. He, however, paused to liberate some of his servants confined in the palace, and the few moments thus gained gave the king's friends time to barricade the royal apartment. The conspirators thundered on the door, shots were fired, and at last the defences were carried. But in the meantime the king had been smuggled into an upper chamber, and relief being now brought up by way of a secret passage through the Abbey Kirk, the assailants made off—not, however, until blood had been spilt and life lost. The alleged ground of this outrage was the undue influence exercised over the king by the Chancellor Maitland, brother to Lethington.

The next few years of Francis Stuart's life were spent in the avowed character of rebel and firebrand. It is, however, impossible here to do more than glance at his wild deeds. Having entered Lochmaben in woman's apparel, he made himself master of that fortress ; whilst at Falkland, in the

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 397 (Bannatyne Club ed.) *Moysie's Memoirs* describe the incident less fully, but with one or two particulars of their own.

summer following his first excess, he repeated his attempt upon the king, but again without success. James made an expedition to the Borders expressly to punish him, but Bothwell found refuges at Netherby and Edenhall in Cumberland, and seems also to have enjoyed the secret countenance of Elizabeth,¹ who perhaps thought that she might some day find him useful. The next of his meteoric apparitions was in the king's bed-chamber at Holyrood, where, with a drawn sword in his hand, he extorted from James's terror a pardon for past crimes. But in spite of this concession, and of Bothwell's acquittal in his trial for proceeding against the king by witchcraft, James's hostility against him did not cease. Indeed the pages of Birrel's *Diary* of this period² teem with records of proclamations and other more stringent measures directed against the earl, his countess, and his friends. These measures seem at last to have borne fruit, for after a further period of roving and rebellion on the Borders, Bothwell withdrew to the Continent, dying at Naples in 1612. In his latter years he had been reduced to support himself by the exhibition of feats of arms, necromancy, and fortune-telling.³ His character seems to have combined with much of the adventurer something of the madman, and not a little of the charlatan or mountebank. No reader of 'Old Mortality' will have forgotten his connection with one of the finest of all Scott's soldiers of fortune—a type, by the way, which the great novelist especially delighted to paint. On the fall of Bothwell the castle of Hermitage and the office of keeper of Liddesdale were given to his stepson, Buccleuch.

The "March Bills," recently given to the world in the 'Calendar of Border Papers'⁴—drawn up, as they are, with business-like method and at great length—throw considerable

¹ Border Papers, vol. i. p. 465, &c.

² Years 1593, 1594, 1595.

³ Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. 160.

⁴ Vol. i. pp. 346-352, 356-365.

light on the condition of the Middle March at this period ; but affording as they do material for a separate study, it is impossible in a compendious sketch of Border history such as the present to deal with these as they deserve. Suffice it, then, here to say that the forays of the Scottish riders were now directed chiefly against the West and Middle Marches—Elliotts and Armstrongs being the principal offenders. These are described as “always riding” ; but other clans of Teviotdale, such as the Rutherfords, Turnbells, Burnes, Davidsons, and Douglasses, also took their share in such exploits. It may be added that the March Bills exhibit all the old picturesque-ness of nomenclature—of which the following examples may be quoted : Hob the Tailor, Short Thome, “little Peck,” Dande Oliver “the Lover,” Hob of the bog, Jenete’s Watte, Giles Douglas (“Gile the gose”), Jock Young “the basterd,” Thome of the Town-head, Raiphe Burn (“shorte necke”), “Mistres” Karr (evidently a man), Dand Young of Clifton, son to the “crooked plege,” Dande Dowglas (“Dande of the brea”), Eddie Elliot, son to Davye the “Carlinge,” Arche Croser (“Quintin’s Arche”), Will Croser (“ill-willed Will”), “gretelegs,” Jock “half-lug,” Nebless Clemy, “Bang-taile,” Hob “bullie,” “Red neb,” and “Red Cloak.” Such by-names were of course in the first instance adopted to obviate the confusion otherwise inevitably arising from the clan system.

For us the type of the old reiving Borderer is certainly “Auld Wat of Harden,” though it is probable that he owes that distinction largely to the fortunate chance that neither in his own day nor in ours has he lacked a pious poet. The estate of Harden was acquired in 1501 by Robert, second son of Walter Scott of Sinton,¹ from whom Old Wat was fourth in direct descent. The situation of the old house,

¹ Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i., Introduction, p. lxxvii.

or tower, on the brink of a "deep and impervious glen," in which a large herd of cattle might be safely bestowed, gave it great advantage as a centre of mosstrooping operations. Round the personality of Wat himself—whom we have already seen figure in the exploit of Jamie Telfer—many traditions have grown up, some of which will not, however, stand investigation. Thus it has long been believed that by the contract of marriage between Harden and Marion, called the "Flower of Yarrow,"—the beautiful daughter of Scott of Dryhope, near St Mary's,—Dryhope bound himself to find Harden in horse-meat and man's meat at his tower for a year and a day, whilst Harden on his part undertook to give his father-in-law the "profits of the first Michaelmas moon"—a significant allusion to old Border manners. Unfortunately for the credit of these picturesque fictions, the original agreement is preserved in the charter-room of Mertoun, the seat of Old Wat's descendant, the present Baron Polwarth, and having been examined, proves to be of a matter-of-fact and commonplace character, quite innocent of romantic suggestion.¹

The beautiful "Flower of Yarrow" seems to have adapted herself to the circumstances of her rough life at Harden, for it is recorded of her that when the larder was empty she would recall the male portion of the family to a sense of what was expected of them by placing on the table at dinner-time a dish containing *spurs*. As if to bear this tradition out, there is preserved among the heirlooms of the house a pair of antique brass spurs of elaborate workmanship. With these is an ancient horn, into the surface of which many initials have from time to time been cut or burnt, said to be the identical bugle of Old Wat. By another tradition, the authorship of many of the old Border ballads is ascribed to a minstrel

¹ Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i., Introduction, p. lxx.

said to have been carried off in a raid in childhood, and reared by the Flower of Yarrow.

In illustration of Harden's own propensities, his illustrious descendant Sir Walter Scott has related the two following anecdotes: "Upon one occasion, when the village herd was driving out the cattle to pasture, the old laird heard him call loudly to 'drive out Harden's cow.' 'Harden's cow?' echoed the affronted chief; 'is it come to that pass? by my faith they shall sune say Harden's *kye*.' Accordingly he sounded his bugle, mounted his horse, set out with his followers, and returned next day with 'a bow (or herd) of kye and a bassen'd (brindled) bull.' On his return with this gallant prey, he passed a very large hay-stack. It occurred to the provident laird that this would be extremely convenient to fodder his new stock of cattle; but as no means of transporting it occurred, he was fain to take leave of it with this apostrophe, now proverbial, 'By my soul, had ye but four feet, ye should not stand lang there.'" A similar proverbial saying is that of a Border mother to her son, "Ride, Rouly—hough's i' the pot!" indicating that the last piece of beef was in the pot, and therefore it was high time for the young man to fetch more.

Transcending in romance the story of the Flower of Yarrow's marriage-contract is that of the marriage of Harden's son and heir. As told by Sir Walter Scott, it bears that young Harden, being made prisoner in a skirmish by Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, afterwards Treasurer-Depute of Scotland, was on the point of being executed by hanging from a branch of Elibank's "doom-tree," when the Lady Elibank interposed with a suggestion of milder treatment. Her plan for the disposal of the captive was that he should be forced to espouse, without "tocher," the youngest of three daughters of the house—a damsel rejoicing in the graphic

nickname of "Muckle-mouthed Meg." So ill-favoured, indeed, was his destined bride, that it was not without much hesitation that Scott made his choice between her and the doom-tree. But life is sweet, and having chosen the lady, it is satisfactory to know that he had no cause to repent of his bargain, for Margaret Murray made him an excellent wife, suiting him even in the detail of having a singularly happy hand in pickling the beef which he stole.

Thus Sir Walter Scott; but the dry documents of the Mertoun charter-room again reveal a different tale. From these it appears that, far from the marriage being hasty or compulsory, the preliminary arrangements on either side were even unusually careful and protracted, occupying many months in consideration, and being finally embodied in a closely-written legal instrument measuring no less than seven feet in length! Nor was this all, for instead of coming to him tocherless, the bride—whose name was not Margaret, but Agnes—brought her husband a dowry of 7000 merks. Thus the whole fabric of fiction falls to the ground.¹ It is worth noting that in subscribing the above marriage-contract, Wat of Harden signs "with my hand at the pen, led by the notaris underwritten at my command, becaus I can not wryt." The legend, as we must now consider it, of "Muckle-mouthed Meg" has furnished a congenial subject for the whimsical pencil of Kirkpatrick Sharpe, whose drawings to illustrate it may be seen at Abbotsford House.

The night of April 13, 1596, was signalised by a bold feat of prison-breaking, which may be regarded as the last of the great Border exploits. The circumstances leading to it were as follows: William Armstrong of Kinmont, a noted Scottish freebooter, had been present at a march day held at the Dayholm of Kershope by the deputies of Buccleuch, Keeper of

¹ Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i., Introduction, p. lxxv.

Liddesdale, and Lord Scrope, the English warden of the Western March. As he was riding peaceably homeward, along the north bank of Liddell, he was chased by some Englishmen, and being captured, was carried off to prison at Carlisle. Whatever may have been Kinmont's previous misdeeds, this was a plain infringement of the "day of truce." But Buccleuch's appeal for his release was met by excuses.¹ The keeper therefore determined to take the law into his own hands and attempt the rescue of his countryman. Doubtless he was not the less inclined to do this that there were already many grounds of offence between himself and the English warden, both of whom were fiery spirits in the full vigour of their age. On a dark and stormy night very suitable for his purpose, Buccleuch assembled his followers, to the number of several hundreds,² at Kinmont's tower of Morton, situated in the Debatable Land, about ten miles from Carlisle. A list of those present at this rendezvous has been preserved, and includes, besides of course Old Wat of Harden, who was sure to be to the fore on such an occasion, among many Armstrongs, the Laird of Mangerton, the young Laird of Whithaugh and his son, and the four sons of the imprisoned Kinmont.³ The conspirators then approached Carlisle under cover of the darkness and dismounted. Be-

¹ The warden sought to justify his action by accusing Willie of a breach of assurance at a march meeting, and again by asserting that, though the captive was a follower of Buccleuch, the proper person to demand his restitution was the warden of the West Marches (Border Papers, vol. ii. p. 139).

² "Five hundred horsemen," says Scrope, in his report of the occurrence, written the following day (Border Papers, vol. ii. p. 121). Spottiswood says "some two hundred."

³ Besides the above, the complete list is as follows: Walter Scot of Goldelandes, Walter Scot of Branhholm, — Scot, named "Todrigges," Will Elliot, Goodman of Gorrombye, John Elliott, called of the Copshawe, three of the Calfhills (Armstrongs), Jocke, Bighames, and one Ally, a bastard; Sandy Armstrong, son to Hebbye, Willie Bell, "red-cloake,"

fore this, however, steps had been taken to facilitate the projected act of deforcement by securing the complicity of the formidable clan of the Græmes,¹ by one of whom² a party of eighty of Buccleuch's men were now guided to the outer wall of the castle.

Being furnished with "gavlocks" or levers, crowbars, picks, axes, and scaling-ladders, they speedily and silently undermined the postern-door, thus effecting an entrance into the base-court. According to the evidence of an informer, Buccleuch was the fifth man to enter—as he did so encouraging his company with the words, "Stand to it, for I have vowed to God and my prince that I would fetch out of England Kinmont dead or quick, and will maintain that action when it is done with fire and sword against all resisters." Meantime the watch were either sleeping or had gotten them to shelter from the storm. It is more than likely, too, that some of them had been tampered with.³ At any rate, the rescue-party were able to reach Kinmont's prison and set him free without encountering serious resistance. Of the three men who alone seem so far to have attempted to oppose them, two were left for dead and the third wounded.

and two of his brethren, Walter Bell of Godesby; three brethren of Tweda, Armstrongs; young John of the Hollows and one of his brethren; Christie of Barneglish and Roby of the Langholm; the Chingles; Willie Kange and his brethren, with their "complices" (Border Papers, vol. ii. p. 122).

¹ Border Papers, vol. ii. p. 367, where, in a letter to a "great man in Scotland" relating to the occurrence, Buccleuch remarks, "To satisfie your lordship, I assure you that I could nought have done that matter without great frindship of the Grames of Eske." The Græmes are thus described in a MS. quoted by Scott from the 'History of Cumberland': "They were all stark mosstroopers and arrant thieves, both in England and Scotland outlawed; yet sometimes connived at because they gave intelligence forth of Scotland, and would raise 400 horse at any time upon a raid of the English in Scotland."—Border Minstrelsy, Introduction, p. lxxxix.

² Hutchin, or Hugh, Grayme, known as Kitchie's Hutchin.

³ Examination of Andrew Græme (Border Papers, vol. ii. p. 368).

As the prisoner was on parole, he was probably the less securely guarded. Having now effected their object, rescued and rescuers had issued forth of the postern when an alarm was given by the watch of the inner ward. But it was then too late to stop them.

Such is the unvarnished tale, from English sources,¹ of the rescue of Kinmont Willie. The spirited ballad which completes the story is too well known to require quotation. A comparison of the prose with the poetic version of the incident reveals a number of small discrepancies. The varied disguises, for instance, assumed by the rescuers — “five and five like a mason-gang,” to carry the ladders, and so on; their meeting with Salkeld, the unjust deputy-warden, Kinmont’s good-night to Scrope, and probably the manacles with which he is so liberally loaded, are all additions of the balladist. But these things are in the nature of perfectly legitimate poetic ornament, and on the whole, after comparing the flights of the Scottish poet with the statement of the English official, one remains impressed not by the licence but by the closeness to fact in essentials of the former. That nothing should be said of the aid rendered by the Græmes is easily intelligible.

The deforcement of Carlisle Castle was an insult not to be brooked by Elizabeth, who straightway demanded the surrender of Buccleuch. This James refused, protesting that the original injury lay in the capture of Kinmont during time of truce. A heated controversy ensued, with raids on either side — Cavers in Roxburghshire being laid waste and burnt by the English, whilst on the part of Scotland Buccleuch made an incursion into Northumberland and hanged thirty-six of the Tyndale freebooters. In 1597

¹ Letters of Scrope to Lord Burghley and the Privy Council, April 14, 1596 (Border Papers, vol. ii. p. 120).

all seemed ripe for war; but happily a compromise was effected, Buccleuch voluntarily surrendering himself to the English warden, and being released after a brief detention—when his son, a boy of ten, took his place. Probably some two years later, having expressed a wish to kiss hands, Buccleuch was admitted to Elizabeth's presence. A family tradition says that on this occasion the queen, alluding to the Kinmont incident, asked him, in her well-known way, "how he *dared* to commit so presumptuous an offence." "*Dare*, madam," was the memorable reply; "what is there that a man dares *not* do?" Elizabeth appreciated the spirit of the words, and turning to a lord-in-waiting, observed that "with ten thousand such men, our brother in Scotland might shake the firmest throne in Europe!" After this Buccleuch's fine energies seem to have been directed into better-regulated channels, and we hear no more of wild justice administered by him on the Border.¹

¹ Border Papers, vol. ii., Introduction, p. xvi.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE UNION OF THE CROWNS, ITS EFFECT ON THE BORDERS—THE FINAL RAIDS—STRINGENT MEASURES RESORTED TO FOR THE PACIFICATION OF THE BORDERS—DEPORTATION, DISARMING, DRAGOONING, ETC.—“JETHART JUSTICE”—JAMES’S CHANCELLOR REPORTS PROGRESS—BOND OF BORDERERS TO REPRESS ROBBERY AND BLOODSHED ON THE BORDERS—BORDERERS IN THE FOREIGN WARS—BUCCLEUCH COMPANIES IN HOLLAND—SCOTT OF SATCHELLS—SLOW PROGRESS OF THE BORDER COUNTIES—THEIR INTELLECTUAL INSIGNIFICANCE—HOBBY HALL; SAMUEL RUTHERFORD; LINGERING LAWLESSNESS—PEEBLES RACES PROHIBITED—STREET SCENES IN PEEBLES—INSTANCES FROM THE REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL; HAMESUCKEN, ETC.—CATTLE-MAIMING—EXPLOITS OF CHRISTIE’S WILL—THE LAST OF THE MOSS-TROOPERS—WILLIE OF WESTBURNFLAT—STATUTES REGARDING SALE OF CATTLE ON THE BORDERS—ANECDOTE FROM CARLYLE’S ‘REMINISCENCES’—MEASURES AGAINST HUNTING AND TIMBER-FELLING IN THE CHEVIOTS—BORDERERS ENNOBLED AT THE UNION: LORD SCOTT OF BUCCLEUCH; THE EARL OF ROXBURGHE; THE EARLS OF ANCRUM AND LOTHIAN; CARR, EARL OF SOMERSET; THE EARL OF MELROSE.

WITH the Union of the Crowns in 1603 Border history, properly so called, comes to an end, for, strictly speaking, there is no longer a Border. Contemporary documents allude instead to “his Majesty’s *late* Border,” whilst the Border counties are to be known henceforth as “the Middle Shires.” The Border laws are repealed as an anachronism, and all that legislation can do to promote cordial relations between the two countries is done. Acts of Oblivion are passed, national disabilities and restrictions on international commerce are removed, and it is agreed that inhabitants of either country born after the present date shall no longer be regarded as

aliens in the other. All this is good, but unfortunately it was beyond the power of legislation to alter at one stroke the ingrained and transmitted character of a considerable section of the community. To the average Borderer the succession of the Scottish king to the English throne would appear in the light of a merely casual and extraneous occurrence, and a new generation had to grow up, and a terribly severe discipline to be undergone, before the character of the Borders was in reality modified.

Already, ere James had well left behind him his own dominions on his triumphal progress to his new capital, he found himself again confronted by the Border question. "Elliot's and Armstrongs ride thieves all," says the Border proverb. These families had therefore a strong interest in maintaining the *status quo*, and no sooner had the news of Elizabeth's death reached them than, calculating upon a period of national demoralisation, they united in a raid upon the English Border, extending their devastations as far as to Penrith. In this expedition all the headmen of the Armstrongs were engaged, including Mangerton, Whithaugh and his son, and "all the Armstrongs they could make."¹ But a swift retribution overtook them. James, who was at Berwick at the time, at once commissioned Sir William Selby, captain of that town, to raise the Borders, Scottish as well as English, against the raiders. Sir William then swept through Liddesdale, wasting the lands and blowing up the strongholds of the offenders, and carrying off several of themselves to execution at Carlisle. So severe, indeed, was the visitation that the clan Armstrong is supposed never to have rallied from it.² Certainly from this time forward they disappear from prominence in the Border country, their lands for the most

¹ The Border Elliotts, p. 173, from MS., 'The Laws of the Marches.'

² Border Minstrelsy, p. 253, Ward, Lock, & Co.'s edition.

part passing into possession of the Buccleuch family. The king had good reason to congratulate himself upon his promptitude on this occasion, for so general had been the inclination on the Border to protest against the Union, that the interval between the death of Elizabeth and his own accession became known there in after times as the "Busy Week," or the "Ill Week."¹ Perhaps, on the whole, James's work on the Borders has hardly received due recognition. Among English historians he has always been unpopular, and certainly his character seems to have degenerated under the influence of wealth and ease. But, besides the credit which he deserves for schemes and for measures intended to draw closer the union of the countries at large, it must be admitted that his conduct in the pacification of the marches was resolute and energetic even to a fault.²

For the onslaught on the Armstrongs was but the first of a succession of more or less drastic proceedings directed towards similar ends. Thus, in the beginning of 1605, a commission was appointed to reduce the Borders to order. It consisted of five English and five Scottish members, and was furnished

¹ Border Elliots, p. 174.

² Nor were his endeavours in this direction confined to the period subsequent to the Union of the Crowns. Thus, in October 1602, when about to hold justice-courts at Peebles and Jedburgh, for the punishing and trying by order of justice of "the monyfauld enormities and insolencies whilk has been sae frequent and common thir years bygane within the Middle Marches," he issues a proclamation directing that—in view of the necessity that he be "weel and substantially accompaniet"—all and sundry his lieges and subjects betwixt sixteen and sixty years, with other fencible persons, as well dwelling to burgh as to land within the bounds of the sheriffdoms of Peebles, Selkirk, and Roxburgh, "weel bodin in feir of weir in their substantiall and weirlike manner," address themselves to meet his Majesty, being provided to remain and attend upon him for the space of fifteen days, under pain of the tinsel of life, lands, and goods (Register of the Privy Council, vol. vi. p. 467).

with ample powers, and with jurisdiction over both sides of the Border. The king's instructions to the commissioners include the suppression of all deadly feuds, the delivery of fugitives from one country to the other, and the expulsion of idle vagabonds from the bounds of the commission. All who are held to be beyond hope of amendment may be removed to some other place, "where the change of aire will make in them a change of their manners"; and finally, the commissioners are empowered to disarm the broken people of the arms which have served them "in their lewd actions."¹

These powers were not merely rigorously but ruthlessly employed, and a period of dragooning and of judicial tyranny was inaugurated which was productive probably of as much misery as the worst disorder the Borders had known. It was the inevitable Nemesis of three hundred years of lawlessness. The character of the clan Græme has been described upon a previous page. Among the lawless they were perhaps the most lawless, and it was resolved to make them an example by enforcing against them the "change of air" statute. Some forty or fifty families of the name were accordingly deported to the county Roscommon in Connaught, where they suffered untold hardships.² Others capable of being turned into soldiers were transferred to the seat of war in the Low Countries. Next, to take the place of the old warden courts, special courts of justice were now held at such Border towns as Hawick, Jedburgh, and Peebles, where

¹ The Border Elliots, p. 176, from the Muncaster Papers, Historical MSS. Commission.

² Lowther, in his 'Journall into Scotland' (1629), speaks of passing the houses of the "Grames that were, . . . but one little stone tower, garretted and slated or thatched, some of the form of a little tower not garretted" (p. 10).

many Borderers were tried and executed or banished. James's chief instrument in these dealings was the dark and unscrupulous though able George Home, now Earl of Dunbar, who soon became head of the Scottish Border commissioners, and whose summary method of judicial procedure is said to have originated the phrase "Jethart justice—hang first and try afterwards." For such suspected persons as could not readily be got into the courts, a troop of horsemen under Sir William Cranstoun was employed to scour the neighbouring country; and if there were any difficulty or danger in bringing the persons thus captured to justice, they would be hanged, without scruple as without trial, on the spot. For all acts of this description Cranstoun received a special justification and indemnity.¹ from the king. Besides this, a proclamation was issued to the inhabitants of certain Border districts, including Liddesdale and Teviotdale, directing that all save noblemen and gentlemen and their household servants, not belonging to broken clans and being unsuspected of theft or felony, should put away all manner of armour and weapons, both offensive and defensive, and forbidding them to keep any horse above the value of 50s. sterling. In such manner was it sought to strike at the "riding" tendencies of the Borderers. Even

¹ The author of the 'Border Elliots' quotes from the Register of Privy Council a passage from this indemnity which is highly instructive as showing the value set on the life of a Borderer at this time. It recites that "since the necessity of the service wherein he [Cranstoun] was employed . . . might not always permit those prolix forms accustomed in the civil parts of the Kingdom to be used at all times," and since this consideration had moved the said Sir William "*oftentimes summarily to make a quick despatch of a great many notable and notorious thieves and villains by putting them to present death without preceding trial of jury or assise or pronuntiation of any conviction or doom,*" the king declares him to have done most dutifully, and relieves him from all actions and accusations in respect of these acts.

the nobles and gentlemen excepted from the terms of the proclamation were forbidden to carry pistols, hagbuts, or guns of any sort. Further, it was ordained that the iron gates, used as a means of defence in the houses of members of the broken or disordered clans, should be transformed into ploughs or other useful implements.¹ Under such discipline as this one can scarcely wonder if many Borderers are said to have fled their native country.²

As the king did not find it possible or convenient to fulfil his original intention of visiting Scotland every third year, it fell to his Ministers in that country to keep him posted as to the results of remedial measures on the Border. Thus in 1606, when Dunbar, after holding two justiciary courts, had caused hang above 140 of the "nimblest and most powerful thieves in all the Borders," the Chancellor, Seton of Dunfermline, wrote to his Majesty that that district was now "satled far by onything that ever has been done before."³ Alas! the Chancellor's gratulation was premature. The services of the terrible commissioner for the Borders had again to be called in, and this time Dunfermline writes to his royal master, in suitably inflated and pedantic phrase, that "My Lord Dunbar has had special care to repress on the Borders the insolence of all the proud bandsters, oppressors, and nembroths [Nimrods]," having purged the district of all such "chiefest malefactors, robbers, and brigands as were wont to reign and triumph there," "as clean as Hercules sometime is written to have purged Augeas, the King of Elide, his escuries"; and, by cutting off the "laird of Tyn-

¹ Chambers describes these iron "yetts" as being of the form of "grills"—the bars curiously interlacing with each other—and generally furnished with huge staples and padlocks (*Domestic Annals*, vol. i. p. 397).

² The Border Elliots, p. 176 *et seq.*

³ Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. i. p. 396.

wald, Maxwell, sundry Douglasses, Johnstons, Armstrongs, Beatsons, and sic others, *magni nominis lucet*," has rendered the ways and passages between the two kingdoms "as free and peaceable as Phœbus in old times made free and open the ways to his own oracle in Delphos, and to his Pythic plays and ceremonies, by the destruction of Phorbas and his Phlegians, all thieves, voleurs, bandsters, and throat-cutters."¹ This was a pretty tale well told, and the writer sums it up by asserting that the Borders are now as lawful, as peaceable, and as quiet as any part in any civil kingdom of Christendom. But again, alas! the mischief of centuries is not to be so quickly undone even by help of the most stringent repressive measures, and ere long the king is approached by the better-disposed among his Border subjects with a petition setting forth that a long list of enormities—including "daily bloodsheds, oppression, and disobedience in civil matters"—neither are nor have been punished; that there is no more account made of going to the horn² than to the alehouse, and that if diligent search be made there will still be found in the Borders a great number of people "without any calling, industry, or lawful means to live by except it be upon the blood of the poorest and most obedient sort."³

In these deplorable circumstances, it is satisfactory to see influential Borderers range themselves actively upon the side of law and order. Thus in 1612 we find Scott of Harden, Scott of Tushielaw, Scott of Stirkfield, Gledstanes of Cocklaw, Elliot of Falnash, and others, binding themselves, at a meeting held at Jedburgh, to do all in their power to end the deeds of bloodshed and robbery to which the district had

¹ Letters and State Papers of the Reign of James VI. (quoted in Chambers's Domestic Annals, vol. i. p. 419).

² *Horning* was a form of judicial summons.

³ Chambers's Domestic Annals, vol. i. p. 419.

so long been a prey—agreeing to make no exception in favour of their own tenants and dependants when guilty, and, in case of flight, to deprive them of their tacks and steadings. Any landlord who failed to act up to this agreement was to be held to participate in the guilt of the original offence. This bond had the concurrence of the State officers, and the warm approval of the king, as a notable step towards that suppression of the “infamous byke of lawless limmers”¹ on which his heart was set. Nor were gentler measures untried, for in the same year an Act of Parliament freed and exonerated all inhabitants of the Scottish Borders, with certain specified exceptions, “of all actions of spoliatioun and wrangus intromissioun, with whatsomevir goods and geare spuizeit and intromettit,” whether by themselves or their predecessors, prior to the date of his Majesty’s accession to the English throne.²

Now that plunder as a means of livelihood was no longer to be tolerated, the disposal of a population too numerous for the resources of the soil—neglected as in times past these had been—became a problem which pressed for solution. Besides affording an opportunity for turbulent spirits to work off superfluous pugnacity, the foreign wars were recognised as a means of relief in this congestion. Accordingly, in 1620, 120 broken men from the Borders were sent by order of the Privy Council to serve in the campaigns of James’s son-in-law, the King of Bohemia.³ Ere this, in 1604, the Laird of Buccleuch, becoming dissatisfied with the tameness of the prospects now held out by life at home, had betaken himself with 200 followers to the Netherlands, there to lend his support to the famous Maurice of Nassau,

¹ Chambers’s Domestic Annals, vol. i. p. 419.

² Acts of the Scottish Parliaments, vol. iv. p. 472.

³ Domestic Annals, vol. i. p. 484. A proposal to deport unruly Borderers to Virginia, “or some other remote parts,” had been overruled two years before.

Prince of Orange, in the struggle of the United Provinces against Spanish tyranny. He himself remained but a short time on the Continent,¹ but his company seems to have entered permanently into the service of the States-General.² Nor was he the only representative of his family to divert the military enterprise of the Borders into foreign channels, for in 1627 his son, the first earl of the name, carried over to Holland a detachment of his countrymen, among whom no fewer than a hundred were said to bear the name of Scott. Among these one at least is still remembered on the Borders—to wit, Captain Walter Scot of Satchells, author of the rhymed ‘History of the Several Honourable Families of the Right Honourable Name of Scot.’ A great-grandson of the Laird of Sinton, and son of Robert Scot of Satchells, in the parish of Lilliesleaf, by a daughter of Riddell of that Ilk, the future captain spent his boyhood herding cattle, and in his sixteenth year ran away to join the company then being raised by the head of his clan, with which he went abroad. In the long period of fifty-seven years’ soldiering at home and in foreign countries he must certainly have had a varied experience, and one is tempted to wish that he had written about himself rather than his family. But this his modesty perhaps forbade. At any rate, in 1686—when, having returned to Scotland, he settled on the family property and set to work to write his book—he is content to describe himself on the title-page as—

“ An old Souldier and no Scholler,
And ane that can write nane,
But just the letters of his Name.”

This need not necessarily be taken quite literally, for he

¹ The Border Elliots, p. 176, quoting from the Muncaster Papers, states that he was back in Scotland in 1606.

² Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. 235.

appears to have suffered from blindness ; but in any case the actual writing of the book is said to have been done to his dictation by schoolboys whom he hired for the purpose. To this fact no doubt is due something of its quaintly illiterate character—in despite of which it remains a curiosity justly cherished by Borderers for the mass of local *memorabilia* which it embodies. Published when the author was seventy-five years of age, it is still from time to time reprinted. Of Satchells himself there is little more to tell save that he is said to have married and had a daughter whom he named Gustava, in compliment to the great Protestant leader in the Thirty Years' War.

Besides the Borderers who entered the foreign military service, there were doubtless others who went to the Continent to embark as pedlars in the distributing trade—a very popular career at this time among Scotsmen. Others joined in James's scheme for the colonisation of Nova Scotia,¹ and in fact to this period may probably be attributed—in so far as it affects the Borders—the commencement of that state of matters which came to be expressed in the saying that a Scot is never at home save when abroad. Meantime the country at home witnessed the dawn of many innovations destined to remodel the character of its inhabitants on the lines known to us to-day. Among these, rent—"the very name of which had till this period scarcely been heard upon the Border"—was now beginning to be paid. Hence agriculture was beginning to receive attention. But in this particular, progress for many a year to come was to be of the slowest. The cumbrous wooden plough, drawn some-

¹ The roll of Baronets of Nova Scotia who had territorial grants includes the names of John Riddell of Riddell, Sir Archibald Murray of Blakbarronie, Sir Patrick Murray of Elibank, and Andrew Ker of Greinheid (Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts relating to the Colonisation of New Scotland, 1621-1638 (Bannatyne Club), p. 120).

times by as many as twelve oxen, still continued in use; whilst the system of cropping was much what it had been for three centuries past. On all sides vast tracts of reclaimable land were allowed to lie waste.¹ "They have little or nothing enclosed," says the tourist Lowther, himself a North-countryman, speaking of the country between Ashkirk and Selkirk, "neither of corn-ground, woods, or meadow."² He adds that hay was scarcely to be met with. A more caustic writer³ does not scruple to say that neither man nor beast knew what it meant.

So much for the culture of the soil. This was an age when schools were being set up all over the country;⁴ but upon the Borders their choicer fruits were slow in ripening. The 'Register of Ministers and their Stipends after the Reformation'⁵ has shown us the ministers of Teviotdale and Tweeddale comfortably settled each in his parish or parishes fifty years before the date now reached; but nearly a century was still to elapse ere a Thomson should first see the light in a Roxburghshire manse. Of course both mentally and materially the gentlemen were on a far higher level than others; but such a correspondence as that of the Earls of Ancrum and Lothian⁶ must by no means be held to throw

¹ Russell's Haigs of Bemersyde, p. 411.

² Journall into Scotland, p. 13. Some readers may remember the account given by Taylor the Water Poet of his rough up-putting at Blythe Bridge in Peeblesshire, with pigeons "muting" in his face at night.

³ Sir Anthony Weldon, 1617.

⁴ See the Letter of King James the Sixth to the Privy Council of Scotland, dated November 2, 1616, with the consequent Act of the Council "appointing a scoole to be in every parroche," December 10, 1616 (Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. ii. p. 21). Also, in Appendix, extracts from Burgh Accounts of Jedburgh, Peebles, and Selkirk, relative to payments for schools and schoolmasters.

⁵ A.D. 1567 (Maitland Club).

⁶ Printed from the Originals at Newbattle Abbey; Edinburgh, 1875, vol. i. (1616-1649). Robert Kerr, Earl of Ancrum, was the grandson of

light on the average of education in the Borders. Perhaps most of the mental energy of Scotland was now passing into religious thought. But as little spiritually as intellectually had the middle Border counties begun to stir from their long sleep. At New Abbey on the West March, under the protection of the Maxwells, the persecuted religion of Catholicism still held its own; in other parts of the country James's reactionary revival of Episcopacy and enforcement of the Five Articles of Perth had encountered some opposition. But, in so far as our evidence enables us to judge, the middle Borderers continued to display the same indifference of religious temper which had characterised them at the Reformation. Long years of anarchy had, in fact, dulled their spiritual sympathies, leaving them indifferent, careless of initiative, and content to go with the stream. Pathetic in its isolation, deeply pathetic in the vision of its authors' lot, our sole literary garner of these centuries remains comprised within the Border ballads.

One bold act of this period deserves passing mention, especially as the doer was a man whose son was to gain distinction as a Covenanter. To the south-east of Haughead, near Eckford, on a knoll surrounded by a clump of trees, stands a stone which bears the date 1620, and the following inscription:—

“ Here Hoby Hall boldly maintained his right
Gainst rief, plain force, armed with lawless might,
For twenty pleughs harnesd in all their gear
Could not his valient noble heart mak fear!
But with his sword he cut the formoste soam
In two! hence drove both pleughs and pleughmen home.”¹

Robert Kerr of Ancram, third son of Sir Andrew Kerr of Fernihirst. Among his correspondents he numbered the poets Donne and Drummond of Hawthornden, whilst he was himself a writer both of original verse and of metrical versions of the Psalms. The (third) Earl of Lothian was his eldest son.

¹ The stone was restored in 1854 by the Lady John Scott of Spottiswood.

The memory of Hobbie or Robert Hall, Laird of Haughead, survives as that of one distinguished alike for piety and bodily strength. Unfortunately particulars of the occasion commemorated, on which he so doughtily defended his own, are left to the imagination. The ruins of his mansion-house may, however, still be seen, whilst an ash-tree near them used to be pointed out as that beneath whose shade his children were baptised.¹ In him we probably see at least the germ of the later Covenanting spirit, which in the person of Samuel Rutherford, author of the well-known 'Letters,' reached full development. Though far more intimately associated with Galloway, Rutherford was a native of Roxburghshire, being born at the village of Nisbet in 1600. Having graduated in the University of Edinburgh, he was in 1623, on account of his "eminent abilities of mind and virtuous dispositions," elected Regent or Professor of Humanity. Four years later he was settled as pastor of Anwoth in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, where we shall hear of him again.

But in spite of a few symptoms of better things Border lawlessness died hard, the old untamed spirit still continuing from time to time to reassert itself. In Tweeddale this seems to have been especially the case. "To the end of King James's life," says the historian of that county, "he was destined to hear of nothing but scenes of violence and contempt of law in Peeblesshire," in support of which assertion a wealth of instances is adduced. Horse-racing was at this period a popular amusement in Scotland. The Peebles meeting was held on Beltane Day, serving now to represent the older discarded merry-making in honour of that festival, to which allusion has already been made. But the concourse of unruly spirits who attended it presented such elements of danger that, in 1608, the Lords of Privy Council found it

¹ Jeffrey, vol. iii. p. 327.

desirable to prohibit, under severe penalties, the holding of the races.¹

The following instance of private warfare carried on openly in the streets of the burgh shows that the Council had good grounds for its apprehensions. It happened that one Gavin Thomson had incurred the displeasure of his fellow-burgess, Charles Pringle. As Thomson was walking in sober and inoffensive manner in the High Street of Peebles, Pringle, with nine or ten companions, all armed with lances and whingers, set upon him, and having cruelly wounded him in the left hand, compelled him to seek refuge "within the dwelling-place and lock-fast yetts of Isobel Anderson." But even here Gavin's position was anything but a safe one, for his enemies now set to work, "with great jeists, trees, and fore-hammers," to break in the gates of his sanctuary, and but for the providential intervention of the minister and other well-affected persons, there is every reason to believe that the fugitive would have been seized and murdered. It was months after this ere he durst show his face abroad, either to attend kirk or market or to go about the business of his farm, and having at last ventured to do so, he was again chased from the High Street by a company armed with drawn swords. He and others who had come to his rescue were wounded, and, having again sought refuge behind locked gates, he was again saved from a siege only by the timely arrival of relief. His assailants were now denounced as rebels by the Privy Council, after which we may perhaps hope rather than believe that he no longer went in fear for his life.² Such street scenes as the above might suggest the Verona of the Middle Ages rather than Peebles in the seventeenth century.

¹ Chambers, p. 127.

² Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 414.

There is abundant evidence that the provision against carrying arms on the Borders was not easy to enforce. Thus in 1611 Robert Horsburgh, burgess of Peebles, complains to the Privy Council that William, son of Philip Scott of Dryhope, with twelve accomplices, came, under cloud and silence of night, to the complainer's dwelling-house in the said burgh, "quhair he and his familie wer repairing to thair beddis," and having "perforce enterit within the said house, and invadit and pursewit him for his bodelie harm and slauchter, gaif him mony bauch, bla, and bluidy straikis on divers pairtis of his bodie," of purpose to have slain him. Again, in 1616, James Eistoun, burgess of Edinburgh, coming from the Links of Leith, "quhair he had bene recreating himselff at the gowff," was set upon by James Tweedy, son of John Tweedy of Dreva, who "invadit him with a drawn sword, gaif furth mony straikis at him, cuttit his hat and cloik, raschit him to the ground, and reft from the complenair his cloub, quhairwith he defendit himselff." Once more, in 1618, John Govan in Peebles, having invaded William Porteous for his bodily harm and slaughter, and being commanded by Charles Pringle, bailie, to go to ward, not only refused to do so, "but most insolentlie strak the bailie, and persewit him for his lyff, for the quhilk he being be the nichbouris tane to waird, he causit suche friendis as he had in the said burgh to brek the tolbuith dure, and to tak him out." In 1620 the provost and bailies of the burgh complain that Beatrix Ker, Lady Gledstanes, with William, Robert, and James, her sons, William Ker, ploughman, and others, "all bodin in feir of weir," came "to the commontie of the burgh called Kaidmuir," where some of the inhabitants were occupied in their lawful affairs upon their own heritage, "and thair threatnit thame with death gif thay depairtit not the ground," and did what in them lay to have broken his

Majesty's peace.¹ Yet once more, in 1622, John Tweedy of Winkiston complains that James Patterson in Myreburn in Dreva, accompanied by his son and others, came to Tweedy's lands, and having driven off a number of cattle from Broughton to the close of Dreva, did there "with swords and knyves cut the tails and rumples of ten or twelf of the poore beasts, sa shamefullie mangling them that some of them are in danger of their lyves."² Nor is this the only instance of the odious outrage of cattle-maiming. In 1615 the estate of Howpaslot, long a property of the Scotts, had passed to Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, one of those who had shown themselves most active in the pacification of the Borders. But the Lady of Howpaslot was determined that he should not have the enjoyment of his acquisition. She therefore gave orders to certain of her creatures of the name of Scott, who, finding Drumlanrig's sheep folded in a cleuch-syde, did, under cover of night, most barbarously and cruelly—"as savadge and crewall beistis, destitute of naturale reasone"—with their drawn swords and other weapons run through the whole flock, slaying, laming, and maiming to the number of three-score sheep, whereof some forty were slain by decapitation or by being divided through the middle, and the remainder dismembered and left in a dying condition.³ There is some satisfaction in recording that of the four miscreants employed in this work, three were condemned to death on the Crown evidence of the fourth—one John Scott, called "the Suckler," who was himself hanged next year for sheep-stealing.

It is a relief to turn from atrocities such as these—which, in common with the records of De Beaugué, mark the lowest

¹ This incident seems to throw light on the spirited action of Hobbie Hall in resisting the invasion of his territory.

² Chambers's Peeblesshire, p. 135 *et seq.*, from the Privy Council Records.

³ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 380 *et seq.*

tendencies of the times—to the contemplation of deeds which, however lawless, have about them the saving grace of personal daring. Such were the exploits of William Armstrong, known as "Christie's Will," a Border freebooter born out of his due season. According to Sir Walter Scott, Will was a lineal descendant of the great Johnie Armstrong of the sixteenth century, whose tower of Gilnockie he had inherited. The Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland at the time, had earned Will's gratitude in the following manner. Happening to visit Jedburgh, he had found him confined in the tolbooth on a charge—as the prisoner himself put it—of having stolen *two tethers*. Further inquiry, however, disclosed the fact that attached to the tethers when stolen were two "delicate colts." The quaint humour of the freebooter tickled the fancy of Traquair, who forthwith exerted himself to procure his release. The sequel is a variation of the fable of the lion and the mouse. Some time afterwards the Treasurer had a lawsuit before the Court of Session, and there was every reason to believe that the judgment would turn upon the casting vote of Alexander Gibson, Lord Durie—familiar to the legal world as the author of 'Durie's Practicks'—who was known to be adverse to him. Hence Durie's absence from the bench when the cause should come up for decision became to the litigant a matter of devout desire. In this state of affairs he had recourse to Christie's Will, whose stanchness did not fail him. As Lord Durie was taking the air according to his custom, alone, on horseback, on the sands of Leith, he was accosted by a stranger, who succeeded in inveigling him to an unobserved spot. There the judge was unceremoniously pulled from his saddle, muffled in a cloak, and strapped behind his assailant, who in this manner conveyed him by unfrequented paths to the deserted tower of Graham. Here he was incarcerated in a dungeon, and kept

for three months in solitude and darkness—never once hearing the sound of the human voice save when a shepherd called his dog by the name of Batty, or a woman her cat by that of Maudge. It was an age when the belief in witchcraft flourished with especial vigour, whence the unhappy judge surmised that he was in the power of a warlock, and that the names he heard pronounced were those of familiar spirits. Meantime, his horse having returned home riderless, it was concluded by his friends that he had perished in the sea. His family accordingly went into mourning, and his place upon the bench was filled. In course of time, also, the judgment in Traquair's suit was given in that gentleman's favour. After this there was no object for detaining Durie longer, and accordingly he was returned, in the same way in which he had been spirited away, to the very spot where he had first been seized. Great was the surprise of his friends at seeing him again; but it is said that the judge himself continued to believe that he had been the victim of witchcraft until long afterwards, when chancing to revisit the scene of his imprisonment—of course without recognising it—he heard the well-remembered cries to Batty and Maudge, and the true explanation of the incident dawned upon him.¹

Will, nevertheless, escaped unpunished, and lived to be useful to Traquair again. In the troubles of the Civil War that nobleman adhered to the king's party, and, having occasion to communicate with his Majesty, employed Armstrong on this delicate mission. The messenger had delivered his message, and was returning with the answer, when Cromwell, having information of his errand, gave orders

¹ Lord Durie died about the year 1644. Chambers gives a version of the above story which differs from that of Scott in almost every particular, except those of the identity of the person trepanned, and of the Border as the scene of his sequestering.

to intercept him at Carlisle. Will had entered upon the passage of the bridge which spans the Eden when he noticed that either end was in possession of Parliamentary troops. Without a moment's hesitation he set his horse to leap the parapet, and though the river was in high flood, succeeded in swimming him ashore. The landing, at a steep bank known as the Stanhouse, was a matter of difficulty—only accomplished after the rider had lightened himself of his drenched cloak. Then he set off across country, and escaping after a close chase, swam the Esk, and shouted defiance to his baffled pursuers from Scottish ground.

One more anecdote of the Armstrongs, and that doughty clan disappears from prominence in a state of society in which its existence has become impossible. It seems that one Willie of Westburnflat, on the banks of Hermitage Water, still found means to ply the old trade. But circumstances were too strong for him, and twelve cows happening to have been carried off out of Teviotdale, he was secured, with nine of his companions, and taken to Selkirk, where, though no precise evidence was forthcoming against the band, they were pronounced guilty "on habit and repute." As the sentence was delivered, Willie arose in the court, and seizing the oaken chair in which he had been seated, broke it by sheer force into pieces, which he handed to his companions, promising, if they would stand by him, that he would fight his way out of Selkirk with no better weapons than these. But he was fallen on degenerate days; they held his hands and besought him to let them die "like Christians." They were accordingly hanged. This incident, says Scott, who tells the story, happened at the last circuit-court held at Selkirk. He adds that the people of Liddesdale, who still consider the sentence unjust, remarked that the prosecutor never afterwards throve, but came with his family to beggary and ruin.

The indomitable persistence of cattle-stealing on the Borders receives further illustration from certain statutes framed by a commission which sat at Jedburgh, under the presidency of Traquair, as late as 1637. These statutes actually made it culpable for any innkeeper to have beef, mutton, or lamb in his house, without "presenting the skin, heed, and lugs thereof to two or more of his honest neighbours, who may bear witness of the mark or *birn*¹ of the skin and hide, and that the flesh thereof is lawfully becomit." No one was to purchase cattle or sheep otherwise than in open market, whilst it became a misdemeanour for any one who had had goods stolen to negotiate for their recovery so as to leave the thief unprosecuted. The commission which framed these regulations hanged thirty Border thieves, and banished fifteen never to return. But perhaps nothing serves to bring the old state of matters on the Border nearer to our own time than the following. "One vague tradition I will mention," writes Carlyle in his 'Reminiscences,' "that our humble forefathers dwelt long as farmers at Burrens, the old Roman station in Middlebie. Once in times of Border robbery, some Cumberland cattle had been stolen and were chased: the trace of them disappeared at Burrens, and the angry Cumbrians demanded of the poor farmer what had become of them. It was vain for him to answer and aver (truly) that he knew nothing of them, had no concern with them: he was seized by the people, and despite his own desperate protestations, despite his wife's shriekings and his children's cries, was hanged on the spot! The case even in those days was thought piteous; and a perpetual gift of the little farm was made to the poor widow as some compensation."

Among minor abuses on the Border which were reformed by James were those of unlawful hunting and timber-felling

¹ A mark burnt into the nose of a sheep.

in the Cheviots. Leland, writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, says that even at that period the great wood of Cheviot was "spoyled"—only "crokyd old trees and schrubs" remaining. There was, however, "much brushe wood and some Okke," with "grownde overgrown with Linge and some with mosse." And there was still "great plenty of redd Dere and Roo Bukkes." From time immemorial it had been the custom of the men of Teviotdale and the Forest, when at peace with the opposite country, to obtain leave from the English warden of the Mid March to enter England towards the end of summer and hunt the deer with their greyhounds. This is the practice which, confused with records of Otterburn, appears in "Chevy Chase." During the later years of Sir John Forster's government his age and weakness had led to a relaxation of discipline on the March,¹ and the formality—it was little more—of asking leave had come to be dispensed with. Then—according to the report of Sir Robert Carey, who in 1597 succeeded to Forster's office—it became the practice of the Scottish Borderers to "come into England and hunt at their pleasure, and stay their own time. And when they were a-hunting, their servants would come with carts and cut down as much wood as every one thought would serve his turn, and carry it away to their houses in Scotland."² This abuse Carey resolved to rectify. He duly notified the opposite warden of his intention, but the warning passed unheeded. In 1598 a company of Teviotdale gentlemen, composed chiefly of Rutherfords, Kers, and Douglasses—by their own account unarmed and not exceeding sixty in number, though the English warden

¹ Border Papers, vol. ii. p. 51, where he is reprimanded by the Council ; and p. 57, Report on the Middle March.

² Carey's Memoirs, quoted by Elliot, p. 189.

says that they were armed and numbered 200—had hunted for two days along the march from the head of Kale. They were set upon by a superior force under two of Carey's deputies, and chased four miles into Scotland, with some loss in killed and prisoners.¹

This affair occasioned much bad blood. When the two kingdoms were united, James's well-known passion for the chase led him to regard offences of the kind as a poaching on his private preserves. He therefore appointed his trusty Dunbar to be keeper of his "gayme and pastyme within those boundis," and, besides special prohibitions to the headmen of the Armstrongs, Elliots, Scots, Rutherfords, and Kers, issued proclamations from the market-crosses of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Hawick, and Peebles, inhibiting all persons not furnished with special licences by himself or Dunbar from hunting or felling wood in the Cheviots. If, strictly speaking, within his rights, his conduct in this respect was at least a selfish infringement of long-established practice, and as such affords a slight illustration of that despotic tendency which, nascent in himself, was to reach its full development in his son and grandsons. But the Borderers were much too closely wedded to their sports to abandon them at once, and the next year a second proclamation names Scot of Harden, Syme Armstrong of Whitehaugh, John Armstrong of Kinmont, and Robert Elliot of Lariston (formerly of Redheugh) as offenders against the terms of the previous one. In 1613² and 1616 still further proclamations were issued, in the latter of which hares and wild-fowl are made to share in the protection extended to the red-deer and the roe.³ When the exceptional and trying

¹ Border Papers, vol. ii. p. 551, &c.

² There is special mention of Tyndale, Redesdale, the fells of Cheviot, and Kidland among the forbidden districts.

³ The Border Elliots, p. 188 *et seq.*

circumstances of the Borderers at this time are considered, one cannot but conclude that a certain relaxation of royal prerogative would have been not merely a graceful but an expedient act on the part of the king, and that on the whole his appearance in these transactions exposes him to a charge of greediness.

Much capital was made by English satirists out of the expectations of profit and advancement raised in needy Scots by James's accession to the English throne. In so far as the Borders were concerned, however, with one exception, his honours were bestowed with judgment, on account of public services performed. In 1606 Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch was raised to the peerage, as a Lord Baron of the Parliament of Scotland, by the name of Lord Scott of Buccleuch—the title being conferred “for his stout and doughty exertions, to the singular commendation, benefit, and praise of the king, and the kingdom and community; and his many and singular abilities, joined with ready and frank inclination and willingness to the king's service, and love to his native country, its interests and honour.”¹

Lord Scott of Buccleuch had married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Ker of Cessford.² In 1600 Sir William was succeeded by his son Robert, who in 1606 was raised to the peerage as Lord Roxburghe, and in 1616 became Earl of Roxburghe.³ On King James's accession to the English throne Sir Robert accompanied him to his new kingdom, forming one of a commission for a union with England appointed by Parliament in 1604.⁴ In his warden-

¹ Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. ii. p. 261. The commission to create, granted to the Earl of Montrose, then Viceroy of Scotland, is drawn in Latin.

² A second daughter married Sir James Bellenden of Broughton, and was mother of the first Lord Bellenden.

³ Correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian, vol. i. p. cxviii.

⁴ Douglas's Peerage, 2nd edition, vol. ii. p. 447.

ship, as a young man, he had distinguished himself by courage and activity, tempered, however, by cruelty.¹ At a later period he seems to have shone as a courtier; but the policy which led him to betray Montrose will scarcely escape condemnation. His death, which occurred in 1650 at the age of eighty, drew from the partial elegist these praises: ²—

“ Mars and Minerva did agree in one
 To make young Sessfurde past comparisone
 For wit and manhood: in his younger years
 He daunted England with the Tevydale spears;
 As he inaged he inabled, and arose
 To such esteem, they durst not him oppose.

 The Solomon of thir days said oft of him
 Roxbrough's no scholar, yet he's near akin
 To learning, for his very natural parts
 Exceed all other sciences and arts.”

Allusion has already been made³ to Sir Robert Kerr, afterwards Earl of Ancram, a gentleman of high character and accomplishment, called by the poet Drummond “the exemplarie of vertue and the Muses’ sanctuare.” His career was that of a devoted servant of the Royal Family during two reigns. He first held the position of Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the highly promising Prince Henry of Wales, on whose too early death he was transferred to the household of Prince Charles. In 1623 he joined the prince at Madrid, after the romantic journey of the latter to that capital. After Charles’s accession to the throne, Kerr continued to stand high in his favour, his services

¹ Border Papers, vol. ii., Introduction, p. xviii. He was the protector of the redoubted Borderer “Geordie Bourne.”

² Elegy on Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, First Earl of Roxburghe, with Notice of his Life, communicated to the Bannatyne Club by Sir Walter Scott (Bannatyne Club Miscellany, vol. i. p. 191).

³ P. 344 and note.

being sought as those of a mediator in the threatening troubles of the reign. He attended the king on his visit to Scotland in 1633, and on that occasion was raised to the peerage. After the king's execution he withdrew to Holland, spending the last years of his long life in retirement and unhappiness. His eldest son, Sir William Kerr, married Anne, daughter and heiress of Robert Ker, second Earl of Lothian,¹ and received a new grant of that title in 1631.²

A third member of the family who at this time filled a large space in the public eye was Robert Kerr, or Carr as it was spelt in England, fourth son of Sir Thomas Kerr of Fernihirst, and cousin of the Earl of Ancram. Making his first appearance at Court about the year 1608, he was the successor of Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, and the predecessor of Buckingham, in the king's favour; was raised to the peerage as Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset, and is now remembered only for his good looks, his meteoric career, and his connection with one of the great scandals of the time.

In 1619 Sir Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, the distinguished lawyer and Secretary of State for Scotland, who is known in Scottish tradition as "Tam o' the Cowgate," was raised to the peerage by the title of Earl of Melrose. But in 1627, on the death of Sir John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington, without an heir, Hamilton, "judging it more honourable to take his stile from a county than an abbey," obtained a patent suppressing the title of Melrose and creating him Earl of Haddington.³

¹ Son of Mark Ker, created Earl of Lothian in 1606, who was a grandson of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford (Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 130).

² Correspondence of the Earl of Ancram and the Earl of Lothian.

³ Douglas's Peerage, vol. i. p. 678.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF THE BORDERS RETARDED BY THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS WARS—SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN THE COUNTRY—AN ARMY UNDER LESLIE MARCHES TO THE BORDER—PROJECTED ATTACK ON COVENANTERS AT KELSO—THEIR ENCAMPMENT ON DUNS LAW—PRINCIPAL RAILLIE'S DESCRIPTION—PACIFICATION OF BERWICK—THE COVENANTERS PASS THE TWEED AT COLDSTREAM—POSITION OF MONTROSE BEFORE PHILIPHAUGH—BATTLE OF PHILIPHAUGH—FLIGHT OF MONTROSE—TRAQUAIR'S CYNICISM—CRUELTY OF THE COVENANTERS—TRADITIONS OF THE BATTLEFIELD—PERSECUTIONS OF CATHOLICS; LORD LINTON; THE MARQUIS AND MARCHIONESS OF DOUGLAS—SEVERITY OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE—CHARACTER OF THE TIMES—SIEGES OF NEIDPATH AND HOME BY CROMWELL—MARIE, COUNTESS OF BUCCLEUCH; ANNA, DUCHESS OF BUCCLEUCH AND MONMOUTH—THE BORDERS DURING THE LATER PERSECUTIONS—DEATH OF SAMUEL RUTHERFORD—HENRY HALL OF HAUGH-HEAD AND HIS ASSOCIATES—GATESHAW BRAES—CONVENTICLE ON SELKIRK COMMON—THE "HARBOUR CRAIG" IN TWEEDDALE—MARTYR'S GRAVE IN TWEEDSMUIR CHURCHYARD—SACK OF TRAQUAIR HOUSE.

FROM the rigorous remedial treatment to which they had just been subjected the Borders emerged quieted, and, as might be believed, by no means ill disposed for embarking in the labours of civilisation and enlightenment. But, for this, the first thing needful was peace, and that was to be denied them. Scotland had issued triumphant from the battle for political independence, and that contest was now for ever ended. But the not less noble battle for liberty of conscience lay ahead of her, and must be fought out to the end ere she should be free to apply herself to the arts of peace and to the development of her resources.

Again she was to retire a victor from the field, her national life and character immeasurably deepened, dignified, and braced by the contest. But by the operation of a natural law, in gaining much she had lost something, and the "defeats of her victories" remain still to be retrieved.

Charles I. had inherited neither his father's discernment nor the caution—if you will, timidity—of his disposition, and the first twelve years of his reign present a curious study of wanton and infatuated aggression on the rights and liberties of his subjects. Having made up his mind to bring the Scottish Church into conformity with that of England, he first endeavoured to recover, for Church purposes, those ecclesiastical tithes and benefices which had passed into the hands of laymen at the Reformation.¹ Having by this means touched the nobles in what was nearest to them, he seemed now deliberately to turn his attention to rousing the people against himself. The steps by which this end was reached belong, of course, to national, not to local history. Suffice it, then, here to say that the opposition excited by the king's interference with the constitution of the Lords of the Articles, by his increase in the number of the bishops, and by his appointment of the Primate to be Chancellor, reached a head with the appearance of the Book of Canons, or rules for the government of the Church, and with the enforcement of Laud's Liturgy. Then occurred the famous scene of uproar in St Giles's Church which is associated with the name of Jenny Geddes, and the king's work was well in train. He had sown the wind and would have to reap the whirlwind. The Earl of

¹ He likewise sought to reverse some of the attainders of his father's reign, compelling the Lords Buccleuch and Roxburghe to surrender part of the lands of Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, which had passed into their hands.

Roxburghe, who was present at the riot, saved the Bishop of Edinburgh by carrying him off in his coach amid a shower of stones.¹ In the preceding year another Borderer, Samuel Rutherford, had been convicted by the High Commission Court of Galloway of preaching against "Arminianism" and the ceremonial newly imported into the public worship of the country, and having been deprived of his parochial charge, had been directed to confine himself as a State prisoner at Aberdeen. It was now and from that town, as from "Christ's Palace," that he sent forth the greater number of those fervent and edifying "Letters" on which his reputation rests. Instead of, as was hoped, allaying discontent, the intromissions with the Privy Council of the committees known as The Tables only tended further to inflame feeling, and in 1638 the National Covenant was renewed. Among copies of this widely circulated document which have been preserved, is one which bears the signatures "Lothian," "Yester," "J. Drumlanrig," and, among the signatories for the counties, "Robert Scott, for Forrest."²

The demands of the Covenanters now comprised a free Parliament and Assembly, with the abolition of the "Canons," Liturgy, and High Court of Commission. These demands were met by Charles with temporising, and in November 1638 the free Assembly was convened in Glasgow Cathedral. But the value of the king's word had yet to become known, and hardly had the Assembly entered upon its business when the Royal Commissioner gave orders for its dispersal.³ The

¹ Appendix II. to 'The Earl of Rothes' Relation' (Bannatyne Club), p. 200.

² National MSS. of Scotland, Part iii. p. xcvi, A.D. 1638.

³ A minute account of the proceedings is given in Spalding's *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 119 (Spalding Club ed.)

meeting was, however, in no submissive mood. It ignored the order, and proceeded summarily to enact the deposition of the entire bench of bishops, with the rejection of the Liturgy and Canons. Things were now ripe for war. External circumstance also favoured an appeal to arms, for the country at this time held numbers of professional soldiers trained in the great religious contest of the Continent. Nor were active operations long delayed. Montrose proceeded against the non-Covenanters of the North, whilst General Leslie, the "old little crooked soldier" whose military distinction had gained him the friendship of the great Gustavus, marched with an army to the Border. Meantime the king brought an army northward to put down his rebellious subjects.

A detachment of about 4000 of the Covenanting troops had proceeded to the neighbourhood of Jedburgh and Kelso. Leslie, suspecting that they might be beaten up by the king's horsemen stationed about four miles from the latter place, ordered them to draw in upon the town, to throw up trenches round it, and to maintain strict watch and ward. His precautions were justified, for the Earl of Holland, acting by the king's order, now advanced, with thirteen troops of horse, 3000 foot, and four field-pieces, to drive out the Scots. Finding, however, that by Leslie's forethought they had been reinforced and were well prepared to receive him, he beat a hasty retreat—the Scots being against their will restrained from pursuing him. For the present this was the nearest approach to an engagement that took place on the Borders. The next day, June 5, 1639, Leslie prepared to meet further hostilities by massing his troops in a strong position on Duns Law, where they commanded the highway to the north, and whence

the king's army was plainly visible, lying in pavilions, some six miles off, "in a fair plain along Tweed."¹ So the two armies confronted each other.

The classical account of the Covenanters' camp on Duns Law is that of Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, who was present as preacher to the Ayrshire contingent.² "It would have done yow good," he writes, "to have casten your eyes athort our brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy." Nor did he stop short there. He continues: "I furnished to half-a-dozen of good fellows, musquets and picks, and to my boy a broadsword. I carryed my self, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; bot I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber by the way; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the incouragement of our countreyemen, which I did to my power most cheerfullie. Our Hill was garnished on the toppe, towards the south and east, with our mounted canon, well near to the number of forty, great and small. Our regiments lay on the sydes of the Hill, almost round about: the place was not a myle in circle—a prettie round, rysing in a declivitie, without steepness, to the height of a bowshott; on the toppe somewhat playne; about a quarter of myle in length, and as much in breadth, as I remember, capable of tents for fortie thousand men. The crownners [colonels] lay in kennous [canvas] lodges, high and wyde; their captaines about them in lesser ones; the

¹ Gordon's History of Scots Affairs, vol. iii. pp. 6, 7 (Spalding Club ed.)

² As regards the composition of the army, Baillie tells us that there was not a man from beyond Tay present, and but few from Lothian, Fife, Edinburgh, or the March. "The South behooved to observe the Border about Carlisle, and the West the Irish shore." This makes it probable that the Border counties were well represented.

sojourns about all in hutts of timber, covered with divott or straw. Our crowners for the most part were noblemen,¹ . . . our captaines, for the most part, barrons or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants almost all sojourns who had served over sea in good charges. Everie companie had, flying at the Captaine's tent-dooere, a brave new colour stamped with the Scottish Armes, and this ditton, FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT, in golden letters. Our Generall had a brave royall tent, bot it was not sett up; his constant guard was some hundreds of our lawers, musqueteers, under Durie and Hope's² command, all the way standing in good armes, with cocked matches, before his gate, well appparelled. He lay at the foot of the hill in the Castle. . . . Our sojourns were all lustie and full of courage; the most of them stout young plewmen; great cheerfullness in the face of all. . . . Had ye lent your eare in the morning, or especiallie at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been refreshed: true, there was swearing, and curseing, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved; bot we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these misorders; for all of any fashion did regraitt, and all did promise to contribute their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For my self, I never fand my minde in better temper than it was all that tyme frae I came from home, till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man that had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without returne. I fand

¹ Among these he mentions Lords Yester and Sinclair.

² Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie and Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate.

the favour of God shyneing upon me, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading me all along ; but I was no sooner in my way westward, after the conclusion of peace, than my old securitie returned.”¹ Thus far the Principal. Of the religious exaltation which pervaded the army, a further idea may be formed from the fact that a landslip by which circular pebbles were uncovered was at once viewed as a miraculous provision of bullets to fire at the enemy ; whilst even an acute lawyer like Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall was at this time accustomed to make entries in his day-book of words addressed to him by a voice from the Unseen. In comparison with this, the temper of the English was perfunctory ; and though in other respects the armies were not ill-matched—numbering each something over 20,000—the king could scarcely fail to recognise the expediency of coming to terms. The result was the treaty known as the Pacification of Berwick.

This peace lasted but a year. The Scots had now become conscious of their power, and as this consciousness grew, their moderation departed. Finding himself openly defied, the king had no choice but to raise an army to proceed against them ; whilst on August 20,² 1640, the Covenanters on their part, having raised their camp at Chesla (Choicelee) Wood, near Duns, entered England. The crossing of the Tweed was accomplished at Coldstream. Montrose, to whom an appeal

¹ Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., vol. i. p. 211 *et seq.* (Bannatyne Club ed.) Among those who had set up their tents on the hill was Argyle. Montrose was expected, but was prevented from appearing.

² Following Baillie's Journal ; but there is the usual divergence of authorities as to dates. Even the diarists differ, for Sir T. Hope gives the day as August 21. Spalding says August 18 ; Gordon (History of Scots Affairs) the 17th.

to the dice had assigned the leading of the van, was the first man to pass the river. This, in order to encourage the foot-soldiers, he did on foot, returning after he had crossed, and wearing the while a cheerful demeanour—which, according to Gordon of Rothiemay, was assumed, for he was already “fallne in dislycke with the Covenanters’ actings, and was now waiting for the first opportunity for to crosse them.”¹ Accordingly, when we next meet him on the Borders, it is in a very different character. The soldiers followed their leader, wading up to their middle in the stream. One man, belonging to Montrose’s company, was drowned in the passage.

It is no business of ours here to follow the great drama which culminated upon the scaffold at Whitehall. One more act in it, however, was played out upon a Border stage. In the interval between this and the event just described, the demands of Scotland had been granted, and the English Parliament—having resolved to follow Scotland’s example in resisting despotism by force—had, by adopting the Solemn League and Covenant, induced the neighbour country to support its efforts. Meantime, also, the king’s misfortunes were diverting sympathy to his side, and he had succeeded in winning over no less a person than the gallant and gifted Montrose.

Whatever may have been the purity of Montrose’s motives, no single gain could have been of greater moment to the cause, as no campaign could have been more brilliant than that which was to be disastrously cut short at Philiphaugh. And to Montrose must be awarded the credit of having created the weapon which he wielded with such startling effect. Of course the services of Highlanders had often before been called in in Lowland warfare, and as recently

¹ Scots Affairs, vol. iii. p. 257 ; Baillie’s Letters, vol. i. p. 256.

as in the Covenanters' camp on Duns Law a Highland detachment had produced a profound impression.¹ But it was reserved for the Great Marquis to test to the full the Highland powers, and to show what under able leadership the Highland soldier could accomplish. Having rapidly swept the entire North, and in a succession of dazzling victories won back nearly the whole of Scotland to the king, Montrose turned southward. But the weakness of the arm on which he most depended, and which had served him so well hitherto, was now to be disclosed. Under the constant excitement of forced marches and rapid attacks, the Highland soldier might be unrivalled; but with the withdrawal of such stimulants his interest in the campaign would be apt to flag, and he would seek to turn homeward with his spoil. These causes now operating in Montrose's force, he found their numbers rapidly diminishing. But treachery was also at work. Great reliance had been placed by the king's party on the support of Lords Roxburghe, Home, and Traquair. But as the younger Leslie advanced across the Border towards Melrose, he detached a party of horse to arrest Home and Roxburghe. The arrest was accomplished, but by the connivance of the parties themselves. The case of Traquair was not much better. Attracting attention by the unusual liveliness of his demeanour, he did indeed put in an appearance at Montrose's camp, as though to testify his loyalty in person. But his son, Lord Linton, whom he left behind him with a troop of horse, deserted on the eve of the battle.² Meantime, on the opposing side, the shires of Selkirk and Roxburgh had been directed to raise 1000 foot and fifty horse, to be commanded—the former by the Lords Lothian, Buccleuch, and Cranstoun, the latter by William Scott of Harden. But there was great difficulty in collect-

¹ Baillie, vol. i. p. 212.

² Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 186.

ing the stipulated numbers. Surely all these things tend to prove the indifference of the majority of Borderers in the present struggle. The heart of the people, as represented by Baillie's "stout young plewman" at Duns, might be sound, but they took little interest in the further development of the war; whilst those to whom they naturally looked as their leaders were likewise undecided or self-seeking.

Meantime, in the hope of meeting with promised reinforcements, Montrose had pushed on to Kelso and thence to Jedburgh. But he leaned upon a broken reed. The king either would not or could not support him, and when he fell back on Selkirk there is little doubt that he knew that his hopes were doomed.¹ A certain relaxation of discipline, or at least of vigilance, seems now to have invaded his army, for without this it is impossible to account for the surprise which followed; and though the accounts of the opposing sides are at variance as to the surprise, it is but reasonable to accept the parties surprised as the better judges of the matter. Having disposed his little army round

¹ The position of affairs at this crisis is set forth in a letter from Sir Robert Spottiswoode to Lord Digby, dated, Near Kelso, September 10, 1645. "We are now arrived," says the writer, "*ad Columnas Herculis* to Tweedside; dispersed all the king's enemies within this kingdom, . . . and had no open enemy more to deal with, if you had kept David Lesly there, and not suffered him to come in here to make head against us of new. It is thought strange here that at least you have sent no party after him; which party we expected, although he [Leslie] should not come at all. You little imagine the difficulties my Lord Marquis hath here to wrestle with. The overcoming of the enemy is the least of them; he hath more to do with his own seeming friends. . . . Besides, he was invited hereunto by the Earls of Roxburgh and Home; who, when he was within a dozen of miles of them, have rendered their houses and themselves to David Lesly, and are carried in as prisoners to Berwick. Traquair hath been with him, and promised more nor he hath yet performed. All these were great disheartenings to any other but to him."—*Memorials of Montrose and his Times*, vol. ii. p. 231 (Maitland Club).

the house and offices of Philiphaugh¹ as their headquarters, the marquis himself spent the night of Friday, the 12th September, in a commodious house close to the West Port of Selkirk. As the hours went by, vague rumours of the approach of an enemy were brought to him; but it was generally known that Leslie had intended to push on northward, and Montrose's scouts, having made some sort of examination of the surrounding country, had the hardihood to wish "damnation to themselves" if they could find an enemy under arms within ten miles. Hence all was false security.

Meantime Leslie had seen reason to alter his plans. He had, in fact, advanced as far as Melrose when news reached him—as some say through the perfidy of Traquair—of Montrose's presence in the neighbourhood and of the weakness of his army. On this he resolved to disregard the orders which he had received, and, turning sharply to the left, took his way down Gala Water. As the morning of the 13th September broke, a thick mist covered his advance. The country through which he marched was on the whole friendly to him, and this also turned to his advantage; for, having informed himself of the exact position of the enemy, he took the advice of a veteran soldier of the district, and detached a strong party of horse to pass by an unobserved path, round Linglee Hill, to a point where it would command Montrose's army in flank and rear. Meantime he himself pushed on to the attack.

On the first tardy intimation of the enemy's approach Montrose leapt upon a horse, and galloped down the steep incline leading from Selkirk to the camp. Hastily mustering

¹ The house of that date stood near the site of the present "Lauriston Villa," close to what is now the cricket-ground (Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 185).

and forming his troops, he found that he could oppose to Leslie's advance but a few companies of foot and a small body of horse—their right wing resting on the river, the left flanked by a steep bank. Small as the force was, for a time it contrived to hold the Covenanters at bay; and if gallantry could have won the day, in face of unpreparedness and a position badly chosen from the first, Montrose might have added one more to the list of his victories. But the odds against him were too great. Presently his left wavered and fell back, and the flank movement of the enemy becoming about this time apparent, the Royalists perceived that all was lost. The rout now rapidly became complete, and those who had horses saw that it lay with them to save themselves. Montrose and his immediate companions, among whom was the Marquis of Douglas, literally carved themselves a path through the foe, who now surrounded them, and having gained the neighbouring high ground, took their way over Minchmoor Hill in the direction of Peebles.

As they went along, something of order was regained—the horsemen, under their vanquished leader, forming themselves into a rear-guard for the protection of fugitives on foot who had left the battlefield before them. They are even said to have made some prisoners from among the pursuers, whom they released on the understanding that prisoners of equal number and rank should be released upon the other side. Others of the fugitives were less fortunate, mistaking their way and being delivered by the country-people to the enemy. Others again, consisting of 200 horsemen under the Earls of Crawford and Airlie, having effected their escape by a different road, fell in with Montrose much later on—to the surprise and joy of both parties. In the meantime a scene of horrible butchery had been enacted

on the battlefield, where a large body of Irish had held out, upon a rising ground, until terms of surrender were negotiated. The Covenanters, however, seem to have repented of their leniency, and availing themselves of a subterfuge, put the whole party to death—according to some accounts, with untold barbarity.¹ We have shown that the people of the neighbourhood were for the most part favourable to Leslie. In Tweeddale, however, the case was different—that is, if we may trust Pennecuik, whose information is that of one brought up in military traditions, who was likewise almost a contemporary, and who assures us that “severals” of that district were killed by Leslie’s army, and others, “the most eminent of their gentry,” taken prisoners.²

Montrose’s party first drew rein at Traquair House, where they inquired for their friends the earl and his son—both of whom were, however, denied to them, though strongly suspected to be within the house. Soon afterwards the earl had the effrontery to congratulate the Covenanting leaders on their victory—a piece of cynicism which so pained his daughter, who was present, that she was unable to refrain from protest. (But Traquair lived to prove the bitterness of adversity in his own person. After the triumph of Cromwell in Scotland he fell into disrepute, and in

¹ Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 185 *et seq.*

² Description of Tweeddale, p. 98. Pennecuik was born in 1652, the son of a surgeon who had served with the Swedish army. His information on the above point is, however, somewhat *general*, and Chambers can only add to it that “at least two” of the Tweeddale gentry performed penance to the Kirk for their Royalist proclivities. Pennecuik is said to have suggested to Allan Ramsay the plot of ‘The Gentle Shepherd’—the original of “Sir William Worthy” being one of the gentlemen of Tweeddale, who, being compelled to retire abroad after Philiphaugh, returned at the Restoration.

the latter days of his life is said to have depended on charity for the means of subsistence.¹) Turned from Traquair, the fugitives proceeded westward, crossing the Tweed at Howford, and following an avenue of old elm-trees which led them to the tower of Ormiston. Thence, by an old road leading over the high ground, they passed to Peebles, where they arrived at sunset, and having rested for some hours, forded the Clyde ere daybreak the next morning.² And here Montrose disappears from Border history.

For his services at Philiphaugh the Committee of Estates awarded Leslie 50,000 merks. His soldiers were also rewarded or promised rewards—to pay for which, fines were imposed on those who had sided with the Royalists. Among the self-styled “righteous,” the thirst for vengeance was singularly fierce. Thus certain Irish prisoners, including women, who, having escaped the massacre after the battle, had been incarcerated in the tolbooth, were shot in Selkirk market-place—Leslie’s protest being overborne by the “bloodthirsty clamour of the Covenanting clergy.” At the same time the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale presented a petition praying that Parliament would hear the voice of their brethren’s blood, and execute impartial justice on the Malignants now in bonds, that the land might be purged from blood-guiltiness.³ To so great evils did religion seek to persuade.

Numerous traditions still linger round the latest of Border battlefields. Of these the majority relate to buried treasures, deriving some support from periodical finds in the neighbourhood of coins of the seventeenth century. One story,

¹ He had raised himself from the condition of a private gentleman to rank, wealth, and the office of Lord High Treasurer. “Of his means and taste at the zenith of his fortunes,” writes Chambers, “the house of Traquair, with its formal avenues and garden, is an interesting surviving monument.”

² Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 191.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

inconsistent with our previous narrative, tells that on the morn of the battle Traquair left home with a bag of gold for Montrose's use. He was accompanied by a blacksmith, and when nearing Yarrow was met by the fleeing Royalists and carried with them as far as Tinnes, where, being pressed by the pursuit, the blacksmith threw the bag into a draw-well. Another story, which was a favourite with Sir Walter Scott, represents a young officer of Leslie's army as having received kind treatment from a humble family of the neighbourhood. "When parting from them to join the troops, he took out a purse of gold, and told the good woman that he had a presentiment that he should not see another sunset, and in that case would wish his money to remain in her kind hands; but, if he should survive, he had no doubt she would restore it honestly. The young man returned mortally wounded, but lingered awhile under her roof, and finally bequeathed to her and hers his purse and blessing." When the great novelist told this story, he would bring it to a climax by adding, "Such was the origin of the lairds of —, now my good neighbours!" A third tradition shows us the vanquished Montrose flinging his military chest into the Meyster Pool near Harehead Wood, as he fled past the spot, and calling on the devil to keep it until he should come back to claim it. Not coins only, but weapons, cannon-balls, and even bottles containing what had once apparently been claret, have been brought to light in the neighbourhood of the battlefield.¹

We have seen that, on the whole, "trimming" and indifference were the characteristics of the Border counties during the struggle just described.² But it must not be

¹ Craig-Brown, vol. i. pp. 195, 196.

² Though, as things turned out, the victory may be said to have been determined by the adhesion of the country-people.

imagined that on this account they escaped the persecutions of the time. An example or two may suffice to prove the contrary. In 1649 Lord Linton was married to Henrietta, daughter of the recently executed Marquis of Huntly, and like him a Catholic. For performing the marriage ceremony the minister of Dawick was excommunicated and banished by the State, his church being declared vacant.¹ Linton was excommunicated and imprisoned.² A similar case was that of the Marquis of Douglas.³ A Catholic and the husband of a Catholic, neither he nor his wife was allowed to practise their religion without constant annoyance at the hands of the Presbytery of Lanark. Without following the various steps of this peculiarly irritating molestation, it is sufficient to state that the marchioness found herself forced, under pain of losing the custody of her children, to attend the parish church; whilst a strong sense of expediency, coupled with the misfortunes which followed his support of Montrose, induced the marquis actually to do penance on his knees before the august body afore-mentioned. As if this were not enough, he was still from time to time required to answer sundry challenges—as “for not keeping his son at school with a sufficient pedagogue approven by the presbytery; for not delivering his daughter to some Protestant friend under the approbation of the presbytery; for not having a sufficient chaplain approven, as said is, for family exercise in his house; for not calling home his son who is in France”—on all of which points he was forced to make “professed concessions.” Truly the primary inspiration of the Covenanting

¹ Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton, p. 11 (edition 1830).

² Nicoll's Diary of Transactions in Scotland, p. 4 (Bannatyne Club ed.)

³ William, eleventh Earl of Angus, was created Marquis of Douglas, and constituted Lieutenant of the Borders in 1633. In 1632 he had married as his second wife Lady Mary Gordon, a daughter of the first Marquis of Huntly, and sister of him who suffered at the scaffold.

movement had undergone strange transformation, since liberty of conscience had come to mean the right of imposing bondage on the consciences of others! Still the intolerable interference of these wretched jacks-in-office was continued, until at last we see the poor marchioness declare (small blame to her pliancy!) that "she had no more doubts," and, at the command of one of the ministers, hold up her hand and solemnly accept the Covenant before the congregation. Can we wonder if six years later the presbytery are still denouncing the rare attendance of herself and husband in the kirk? ¹

But of course those in high positions were not the only or the worst sufferers. From the records of the parish of Innerleithen alone, the historian of Peebles cites numerous instances of petty persecution.² Omitting grosser delinquencies, the favourite offence is Sabbath-breaking. Thus we find persons cited before the presbytery for having dined during the hour of afternoon service on Sunday. These are sentenced to appear on the stool of repentance on their knees. For ricking corn on the Lord's Day a man is put to the pillar, or compelled to stand at the door of the church with his neck in an iron collar chained to the wall. For "knocking beir" another humbly acknowledges his guilt upon his knees. A miller, for keeping his mill working, occupies the stool of repentance. One man is charged with carrying a load of meal; another with hounding his dog on his sheep "mair thoroughly than ordinar." For gathering nuts several women do public penance. Then the harmless practice of gossiping in the kirkyard after service is repeatedly censured; the dancing together of persons of opposite sexes is denounced as sinful; and,

¹ Chambers's Domestic Annals, vol. ii. pp. 190, 242; from Register of the Presbytery of Lanark, March 1650, September 1656.

² History of Peeblesshire, p. 165 *et seq.*, years 1641-1657.

indeed, from the latter days of Charles I. to the Restoration there is no mention of any form of public amusement except for the purpose of condemning it. In these circumstances it might perhaps be expected that an exceptionally high standard of social order would be obtained. The reverse is nearer the truth. From "almost every page of the parish records" the historian of Peeblesshire attests the fact that "Church discipline, now carried to excess, failed in its object." The writer of the Statistical Account of Melrose calls attention to the surprising number of penitents appearing in the session-books during the seventeenth century—a number far exceeding the average of a period when the population had nearly trebled itself.¹ Nor can this state of matters be solely, or even principally, attributed to special vigilance exercised at the time. The diarists are impressed by the immorality of the age; the citations of William Chambers from the burgh-books of Peebles supply abundant evidence in support of it;² and finally, the Churchmen themselves acknowledge, among the causes of a solemn fast in 1653, "the growth of sin of all sorts, particularly pride, uncleanness, contempt of ordinances, oppression, violence, fraudulent dealing—*maist part of the people growing worse and worse.*" Meantime superstition kept pace with sin. On May 4, 1650, the session-book of Lilliesleaf reports the trial by the minister and elders of Selkirk of two women suspected of witchcraft, "quhairupon markis of Satan were found upon them both." Later the goodwife of Bewlie complains to her minister and session of a warlock, by whom "her stirks had been elf-shot, her cows witched, and all the milk taken out of them"³—a complaint received

¹ Quoted in Domestic Annals, vol. ii. p. 198.

² History of Peeblesshire, p. 168 *et seq.*, years 1652-1658.

³ Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 201.

with due solemnity by the court. But no person in the least conversant with the records of the time will require to be reminded of the incredible extent to which they abound in notices of witchcraft. In conclusion, then, as there is no tyranny so terrible as a religious tyranny—none so remorseless or inexorable, or which so makes its oppression felt in every detail and department of life—it may perhaps be regarded as questionable whether existence in the Border counties was at any period since the Dark Ages so truly and essentially miserable as in the years preceding the Restoration.

It is no part of our purpose here to trace the successive steps by which in the meantime Scotland had reversed her earlier *rôle*—becoming champion of royalty, and opponent of the English Roundhead faction. When, in July 1650, Cromwell's invading army crossed the Tweed in its progress northward, it had found the Border swept and garnered. After its victory at Dunbar, a force—supposed by Chambers to have been under command of General Lambert¹—was detached to attack Neidpath Castle, held by Lord Yester, son of the Earl of Tweeddale. It is on this occasion that, according to the common historic formula, Cromwell's troopers are supposed to have stabled their horses in St Andrew's Church at Peebles. During the siege which followed, Yester's garrison is understood to have behaved with great courage and energy. But the odds opposed to it were too great; the castle was exposed to the play of artillery from the south side of the river, and in December 1650 it was compelled to capitulate.² In the following February Lamont notes in his *Diary*³ that, a breach being made

¹ The name of the commander deputed to attack Neidpath is not mentioned in any contemporary letter or chronicle.

² Chambers's Peeblesshire, p. 163.

³ Page 28.

in the walls of Home Castle, the governor, John Cockburn, did yield the same to Cromwell and his forces.¹ At the same period John Nicoll has the curious entry that the "greatest releiff at this tyme wes by sum gentillmen callit moss-trouperis, quha, haiffing quyetlie convenit in thretteis and fourteis, did cut off numberis of the Englisches, and seased on thair pockettis and horssis."² Thus we see that the old Border leaven was not dead, but, on the contrary, ready to reassert itself the moment occasion offered.

In 1651 Francis, second Earl of Buccleuch, having died without heirs-male, his daughter Mary, a child of four years, succeeded to his great possessions. The competition of the marriage-market was as keen in those days as at any time, whilst the means resorted to for obtaining the hand of an heiress were often highly unscrupulous. Accordingly the little countess was soon the centre of a network of intrigue, resulting in her marriage at the age of eleven to Walter Scott, younger of Highchester, a boy of fourteen, created in the next year Earl of Tarras. Scheming had led up to this marriage, and no sooner was it entered upon than attempts were made to dissolve it. But meantime the unfortunate subject of so much cupidity was pining. In 1660 she was "touched" by Charles II. for the *cruels*, and in the year following she died. Her childish formal letters to her husband have been preserved, and are a touching memorial of her short and troubled life.³ She was succeeded in the title and estates by an only surviving sister, Anna by name. Warned by experience, the child's mother took steps to secure a suitable establishment for her charge. Probably

¹ A letter of Captain Robert Baynes, dated Edinburgh, February 6, says, "Humes . . . [Castle] is taken" (Letters from Roundhead Officers, p. 9, Bannatyne Club).

² Diary, p. 49.

³ See Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. 365 *et seq.*

the doggerel of Satchells represents the vulgar gossip on the subject when he says—

“ Then her mother to London by coach did hie,
And search't her a husband beyond the sea.
A pretty youth and of high birth,
By the name of Graves that boy did pass ;
One Mr Ross his pedagogue was,
In France, in Holland, and in Flanders.”

This young Graves, also called Crofts, was, in fact, none other than the offspring of the *liaison* of Charles II. with his first love, Lucy Walters.¹ The king could not but welcome the proposal of an alliance between his son and the richest heiress in the country, and accordingly the children were united by the Bishop of London in the king's bedchamber on the afternoon of the 21st April 1663.² On the same day the boy, who had already been created Duke of Monmouth, received the additional title of Duke of Buccleuch.

His superficial perfections in maturer years have been again and again described. Of his figure and the graces of his person, the critical Anthony Hamilton remarks that perhaps nature never formed anything more complete.³ “ His face was extremely handsome ; and yet it was a manly face, neither inanimate nor effeminate. He had a wonderful genius for every sort of exercise, an engaging aspect, and an air of grandeur : in a word, he possessed every per-

¹ Or Waters, also called Barlow, a beautiful young lady belonging to a good Welsh family. Her son was born at Rotterdam, 9th April 1649, and educated privately in Holland. A MS. journal of John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, preserved at Dysart House, contains the statement that Charles Stuart and Lucy Walters were lawfully married (Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i., Introd., p. lxxxviii), an assertion afterwards adopted by their son's adherents.

² Nicoll's Diary, p. 390.

³ Memoirs of Count de Grammont, chapter xi.

sonal advantage ; but, on the other hand, was greatly deficient in mental accomplishments." The pitiful weakness of his character was to be afterwards painfully displayed ; but, indeed, the balance in worth lay entirely on the side of the wife. Both of them have been immortalised in verse—he as the Absalom of Dryden's great political satire, she as the Duchess of Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.' On the Borders they have left few recoverable traces, and we need cite but one. In the beginning of 1674 occurred the great snowstorm,¹ long remembered by the name of the *Thirteen Drifty Days*, by which the sheep and cattle over large tracts of the country² were destroyed wholesale—in some cases not to be replaced for years to come. The bringing in of live stock from Ireland was at that time contrary to law ; but in these extraordinary circumstances, the duke and duchess obtained a special licence to import sheep and cattle to restock their vast desolated pastures.³

Anna Scott passed with spotless reputation through the turbid element of the Merry Monarch's Court ; but her husband was less steadfast. He contracted an intimacy with the young and beautiful Henrietta Wentworth, heiress of Nettlestead in Suffolk, whom he loved with fond devotion, and is said to have regarded as his wife in the sight of Heaven. When he was about to start on the rash enterprise which terminated in the rout of Sedgemoor, she sold her jewels to furnish him with funds. Her praise was on his lips when on the scaffold, and it was to her that

¹ The Ettrick Shepherd describes it from tradition, but gives the date erroneously as 1620.

² Notably one extensive glen in Tweedsmuir, the property of Sir James Montgomery, which from that time became a common, pastured by any man who pleased, and continued so for nearly a century.

³ Chambers's Domestic Annals, vol. ii. p. 367, from Register of the Privy Council.

he consigned as a last gift the gold toothpick-case which in the estimation of the vulgar held the secret of her magical power over him. She survived him only nine months. In striking contrast to this passion was the coldness of the Duke's parting with his wife, when, accompanied by her children, she visited him in the Tower before his execution. "Though she was a woman of great strength of mind," says Macaulay, "and had little cause to love him, her misery was such that none of the bystanders could refrain from weeping. He alone was unmoved." The duchess married as her second husband Lord Cornwallis, and dying in 1732 at the age of eighty was succeeded by her grandson Francis, as second Duke of Buccleuch.

The memorable persecutions of the reigns of Charles II. and his brother have left strangely little trace on the history of the Border counties. Wodrow, it is true, assures us that, considering its smallness, none went before the Shire of the Forest in all manner of trials;¹ whilst another Church historian, Kirkton, makes mention of Merse, Teviotdale, and the Borders generally, as "fixing many posts in the fields, mosses, muirs, and mountains," where multitudes gathered almost every Sabbath. "At these great meetings, many a soul was converted to Jesus Christ, but far more turned from the bishops to profess themselves Presbyterians. The parish churches of the curates [or authorised clergy] in the mean time came to be like pest-houses; few went to any of them, and none to some, so the doors were kept locked. . . . The discourse up and down Scotland was the quality and success of last Sabbath's conventicle, who the preachers were, what the number of the people was, what the affections

¹ History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 230 (Blackie's ed.)

of the people were; what doctrine the minister preached, what change was among the people; how sometimes the soldiers assaulted them, and sometimes killed some of them; sometimes the soldiers were beaten, and some of them killed.”¹ In spite of these assertions, the fact remains that to-day Galloway and Clydesdale count martyrs and witnesses by tens and scores where the Borders count them by units. Pennecuik, a contemporary of the events alluded to, states that there were not a dozen persons from Tweeddale present at Rullion Green or Bothwell Brig.²

The state of matters described by Kirkton had sprung from the reactionary tyranny which followed the Restoration—an Act of Parliament, passed in 1662, requiring all holders of public offices to declare the Covenant unlawful, whilst all ministers refusing to be “collated,” or instituted, in their benefices by the revived Episcopacy were to be evicted from them. When the temper of the times is remembered, it must be admitted that more wantonly offensive measures could scarce have been originated. One of the first to suffer by the change was Samuel Rutherford, whose work entitled ‘*Lex Rex*’—said to anticipate and to advocate some of the more advanced principles of recent political speculation—was burnt publicly at Edinburgh and St Andrews,—in the latter case at the instance of Archbishop Sharpe himself. At the same time the author, having been deprived of his position as Principal of the new college at St Andrews, was cited to appear on a charge of high treason before the next Parliament. Had he lived to obey the summons, it is thought that he would hardly have missed martyrdom. But his health had long been declining, and he replied to the summoner,

¹ Page 343 (Kirkpatrick Sharpe’s ed.)

² Description of Tweeddale, p. 97.

"Tell them I have got a summons already, before a superior Court and Judicatory, and I behoove to answer my first summons." His anticipation was fulfilled. As his end approached, he was visited by visions of the Celestial City, and was heard to exclaim, "I shall see Him as He is; I shall see Him reign, and all His fair company with Him. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer, these very eyes of mine, and none for me." He died at the age of sixty-one, March 20, 1661, passing peacefully away with the words on his lips, "Glory dwelleth in Immanuel's land." The last of his celebrated letters, written a month before his death, had been addressed to James Guthrie, the martyr.

To Rutherford and to his like succeeded a more extreme, but less humane or genial, type of religionist. Ever since the first quarter of the century the home of the valiant and pious H. oby Hall at Haugh-head had maintained its reputation for sanctity. In the neighbouring churchyard of Eckford are the graves of a whole race of Halls.¹ In the reign of Charles II., as the abode of Henry Hall, Haugh-head House was the scene of the licensing of the fanatical Richard Cameron. The son of a Fifeshire shopkeeper, Cameron is thought to have been tutor in the family of Scott of Harden, when he was persuaded to become a preacher by one John Welsh, who is said to have enforced his persuasion with the words, "Gae your ways, Richie, and set the fire of hell to their tails." In obedience to the charge, Cameron became the leader of the most extreme sect of the time. "Lord! spare the green and take the ripe," was his prayer on the eve of Airds Moss—the battle in which

¹ The long connection of particular families with certain of the Border villages, as shown by their gravestones, is interesting. The Hoggs in Roxburgh are another instance.

he was himself to fall. His hands, which he had that morning been observed to wash with peculiar care, were then brutally cut off by the enemy, and fixed, with his head, upon the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh, the fingers pointing upwards in mockery of the attitude of prayer. The temper of Henry Hall may be guessed from that of his leaders or associates. He was captured with Donald Cargill at Bothwell Brig, and though rescued by some female sympathisers at Queensferry, he died soon afterwards of his wounds.¹ It is most probable that, during his occupancy, Haugh-head was a centre of Covenanting enthusiasm, and this lends colour to the popular tradition which points to the caves in the neighbourhood as refuges of the persecuted. Gateshaw Braes, in Morebattle parish, are in like manner pointed out as the scene of a local conventicle, or open-air prayer-meeting. Here superstition was accustomed to allege that, if the ear were applied to the ground, a strain of far-off music might be caught. Hence the banks received the name of the "Singing Braes."²

A scene enacted near Selkirk in 1676 serves to present the pressure of the times. To act as a check upon conventicles, the Privy Council had quartered soldiers at Newark and at the house of the Laird of Riddell; but in spite of this measure it was determined to hold a great meeting to hear John Blackader, the preacher. The place first chosen for the purpose was Lilliesleaf Moor, but in consequence of a report that the sheriff was patrolling the district with an escort, the scene was shifted to Selkirk Common, so as to be beyond his jurisdiction. Watches were set, and the morning exercises

¹ Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. i. p. 265 (Bannatyne Club).

² Gateshaw was also the scene of a disruption from the Established Church, an event which, taking place in 1739, enjoyed the distinction of a largely attended centenary celebration (Notes to Robert Davidson's Poems, p. 224).

were performed without interruption ; but in the middle of afternoon service an alarm was raised. The preacher thereupon broke off his discourse, and exhorted the congregation to calmness. Two horses were placed at his disposal for flight ; but he preferred to don the broad bonnet and grey cloak of a countryman, and, thus disguised, mingle with the crowd. The sheriff, Laird of Heriot, and his troop, now advanced at the gallop, and drawing up before the people, cited them in the king's name to disperse. To this some answered that they were met in the name of the King of heaven ; and the sheriff's own sister, stepping out from the crowd, and catching her brother's bridle, cried : " Fie on ye, man, fie on ye ! the vengeance of God will overtake you for marring so good a work." Meantime some soldiers who had come in amongst the people on the mocking pretence of beseeching mercy, but in reality to search for the preacher, were ordered instantly to rejoin their comrades. Then the sheriff called out Bennet of Chesters and Turnbull of Standhill, two lairds present in the congregation, and urged them to dismiss the meeting, that violence might be avoided, and at Bennet's request the congregation consented to disperse—the preacher retaining his disguise until the dragoons were out of sight. He then set off for Edinburgh, and riding all night—so as to avoid recognition next day, when there was to be a race-meeting at Caverton Edge, and the roads would consequently be crowded—reached the capital as the gates were being opened the next morning. But the consequences of the meeting did not end here. The Laird of Chesters, charged with having attended it, and refusing to answer the charge, had his goods confiscated, and was sentenced to imprisonment on the Bass. Later on he acknowledged his attendance, and likewise that he had harboured John Welsh and other preachers ; but refused to promise to cease to frequent con-

venticles, or to attend his parish church. He was fined 4000 merks, and imprisoned pending payment.¹

In Tweeddale, a remarkable rock, situated among what were once wild and sequestered glens, at the north-east end of the lands of Carlops, in the neighbourhood of New-Hall House, is pointed out as the place of refuge and concealment used by the Covenanting fugitives from Rullion Green, and hence is known as the "Harbour Craig." It is inscribed with numerous initials and dates—among which is the name of *J. Giffard*, supposed to have been one of the few persons from Tweeddale who took part in the battle of the Pentlands. In the churchyard of Tweedsmuir is a solitary martyr's grave—that of one John Hunter, shot in the dispersal of a conventicle at Corehead, by the soldiers of General Douglas, brother of the first Duke of Queensberry. Years afterwards, a tombstone was erected over it.

Such were some of the effects and manifestations of the Covenanting movement in the Borders. Like all great movements, it reflected the characteristics of the motley multitude who engaged in it, and to this day it remains difficult to strike a fair balance between its pure and noble inspiration and its pathos on the one hand, and its stubbornness, blindness, and vindictiveness on the other. That the latter were not unrepresented in the Border country the following incident sufficiently proves. The Revolution, of course, put an end to the sufferings of the Presbyterians, and now was certainly the time when one would have expected a set of persons imbued with true Christian feeling to illustrate the virtues of returning good for evil. Did they do so? Hear

¹ Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 203, from Blackader's Memoirs. The author of the 'Life and Letters of Gilbert Elliot' quotes from the 'Memoirs of George Brysson' the description of a very similar scene at a meeting held by John Welsh on Ruberslaw.

themselves. At the end of 1688, writes Peter Walker of Bristo Port, in his 'Vindication of Mr Richard Cameron,' we "thought it some way belonged to us to go to all Popish houses and destroy their monuments of idolatry, with their priests' robes, and to apprehend and put to prison themselves; which was done at the cross of Dumfries and Peebles, and other places." The headquarters of Catholicism in Peeblesshire was at Traquair House, and thither repaired a band of zealots, under the leadership of Donald Ker of Kersland—described by Walker as an "honourable and worthy gentleman," but by a more recent critic as "an astute and double-faced traitor and hired informer."¹ Arriving at Traquair in frost and snow, they found that the earl and priests had prudently withdrawn, and proceeding to ransack the house, discovered a great quantity of "Romish wares"—including an altar, more than one crucifix, a triptych covered within with cloth-of-gold of arras work, a eucharist cup of silver, an *Agnus Dei* of amber with a picture above, together with boxes of relics, beads, wafers, candles, above 130 books—some of them with silver clasps—and many other articles. But this was not all they wanted. They then turned to the house of a Mr Louis, who passed as a Presbyterian minister, and there, by dint of breaking open coffer, discovered the main objects of their search—to wit, the priests' robes and a golden cradle "with Mary and the Babe in her bosom." These and the other articles mentioned they seized, and bearing them in triumph to Peebles, burnt them at the cross. It is said that the insensate Kersland even proposed to burn the house.

¹ Mr Andrew Lang in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' December 1897.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ERA OF PEACE—INCIDENT AT THE TOWN CROSS OF JEDBURGH—THE REBELS OF THE '15 ENTER KELSO—INDIFFERENCE OF THE INHABITANTS—SERMON BY THE REV. MR PATTEN IN THE GREAT KIRK—JAMES VIII. PROCLAIMED KING—DIFFERENCES OF THE GENERALS—MARCH TO JEDBURGH—MUTINY OF THE HIGHLANDERS AT HAWICK—END OF THE CAMPAIGN—COMMISSION OF OYER AND TERMINER AT KELSO—JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON—MARCH OF CHARLES EDWARD'S TROOPS THROUGH THE BORDER COUNTIES—ROUTE OF THE WESTERN COLUMN—THE PRINCE MARCHES TO KELSO—HIS RECEPTION THERE—CROSSES THE BORDER FROM JEDBURGH—LOCAL INCIDENTS OF THE '45—ADVENTURE OF MISS JEAN ELLIOT—CONDUCT OF MURRAY OF BROUGHTON—ESCAPE OF A JACOBITE PRISONER AT THE DEVIL'S BEEF-TUB—THE LOCKED GATES OF TRAQUAIR.

PEACE and liberty—these were the gifts of the Revolution to the Borders, as to the country at large. In Border homes, weapons of offence and defence might at last be laid aside, to figure as relics or to gather rust; whilst even the most exacting conscience had no longer a religious grievance.¹

¹ Broadly speaking. *De minimis non curat auctor*; but in 1737 a Mrs Dickson, mother of the minister of Bedrule, keeping a record of her spiritual experiences, writes as follows: "Another Communion I remark was at Gordon. . . . This I more fully remark because at this time many left the Ordinances, and I was something straitened in my mind about hearing and joining at Communions, as I have formerly done, because this year our Ministers got an Act of the Parliament to read on their pulpits the first Sabbath of every month for a whole year, called Porteous' Paper. Some of the Ministers read it, and some of them did not. Alas! how disturbing this was to many. Some have given over hearing the preaching of the gospel; others have left their own Ministers and wander about. Alas! we seem to be broken, scattered, and divided."—Mrs Dickson's MS.

A typical instance of the modified storms which now disturbed congre-

Borderers now had time to direct their attention to progress, intellectual and material; and, though misunderstood at the time, no measure was really of greater service to them in this work than the Act of Union of 1707. To what good account they turned their opportunities will be indicated in the concluding chapter. Meantime it remains to glance at two occasions when that progress came near to being interrupted by the untimely apparition of troops marching to war.

An incident which occurred in Jedburgh on the accession of William and Mary serves to throw light on the feeling excited in the Borders by that event. The burgh magistrates had met at the town cross, and were drinking the health of the new sovereigns, when, seeing a well-known Jacobite pass by, one of them invited him to join them. The man declined—agreeing, however, to take a glass of wine or ale. “It was a litle round plucked glasse,” says Wodrow, who tells the story, “and when he had gote it and drunk it off, he sayes aloud, ‘As surely as that glasse will break, I wish confusion to him [William], and the Restoration of our soveraing and the heir!’” and with this threw the glass a long way from him. It lighted on the tolbooth stair, rolling down several steps, but nevertheless remaining unbroken. Thereupon the bailie ran and picked it up, and after calling all present to witness the fact of its wholeness, placed his seal on it with the intention that it should be preserved. The matter, which was

gations will be found in Dr Somerville’s account of the election of a Mr Boston (son of the author of the ‘Fourfold State’) to the ministry of Jedburgh in 1755. The election being opposed by William Marquis of Lothian, party spirit ran high, and Boston was in the upshot admitted to be minister of a “Relief” congregation (*Life and Times*, p. 168). So strong was feeling apt to be on this question of patronage that in 1740, at the induction of a minister at Maxton, the presbytery had to be protected by a troop of dragoons (*Kelso Records*, p. 185).

a good deal talked of, reached the ears of Lord Crawford, the king's commissioner, who, sending an express to Jedburgh to obtain the glass, presented it to his Majesty with an attested account of the circumstances.¹

The death of Queen Anne in 1714 afforded a pretext for re-opening the Succession Question. Perhaps what most strikes a student of the history of the crisis is the rareness of decided preference for one side or the other. Apparently a large number of people were prepared for either course, and a trifle would have sufficed to turn them. Indeed, with but slightly more favouring circumstances abroad, and more able and energetic action at home, there is no knowing what might have happened. Certainly the Chevalier de St George was not in his own person a figure to inspire enthusiasm, whilst a rising general led by a Forster and presided over by a "Bobbing John" could not reasonably hope to accomplish much. Still, perhaps the most brilliant or most hopeful moment of its existence was at Kelso, and it is proof of the continued indifference of the Borderer on questions of the day that he gave it neither support nor decided opposition.

Having attended a levee of George I. on one day, Mar set off the next day to raise the Highlands for James VIII., and soon most of the country north of the Tay was in the hands of the insurgents. Meanwhile Lord Kenmure and his friends had proclaimed King James at Moffat, and had effected a junction with Forster, Derwentwater, and their "handful of Northumberland fox-hunters." Finding themselves menaced by General Carpenter on the south, the united forces then set out for Kelso, there to await reinforcements from the north. On October 22 they had left Wooler, and had halted upon a moor not far from their destination, to appoint officers and

¹ *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 333 (Maitland Club ed.)

make other needful arrangements, when they were visited by messengers from Kelso. These informed them that, after barricading the town, Sir William Bennet of Grubbet had withdrawn from it with his men during the night, and that they were therefore free to enter unopposed. Exhilarated by the intelligence, the rebels forded the Tweed, notwithstanding that it was running deep at the time, and entered Kelso. Here they were met by the exciting news that the body of Highlanders advancing under Brigadier MacIntosh had successfully passed the Firth of Forth in the face of three English men-of-war. After this there seemed no room to doubt that Fortune smiled on the expedition, so straightway sallying forth again, in the direction of Duns, they met their brothers-in-arms at Ednam Bridge, and having congratulated them on their achievement, escorted them in triumph into the town. The Highlanders marched to the music of the bagpipe, led by the gallant figure of the veteran brigadier. But rain and a long day's march had played havoc among them, and the effect produced was not altogether inspiring.

The inhabitants of Kelso made no effort to oppose their progress. This is the more noteworthy that, but two months before, assembled in their church, they had "with the utmost unanimity" subscribed an agreement to assist and stand by one another in defence of their lawful sovereign, the succession of the Crown as established by law,¹ and the Protestant religion, and to oppose a Popish Pretender and all his abettors. On the day following this demonstration, a Mr Chatto, a magistrate, assisted by the neighbouring gentlemen, the minister, and the principal inhabitants, had concerted measures for defence in case of necessity. Besides those who were already armed, it was determined that 120 inhab-

¹ *I.e.*, the Act of Succession.

itants, selected from the different wards and placed under the command of competent officers, should be armed with muskets; and such was the spirit manifested, that a hundred more volunteers came forward than could be supplied with arms. The corps thus constituted was then reviewed by Sir William Bennet and Sir John Pringle of Stichill, notables of the neighbourhood. We now see that all these preparations ended in nothing—that those who did not actually go forth to meet the rebels at least offered no resistance to their advance. How is this to be explained? Simply by the fact that the Borderer of 1715 took as little real interest in dynastic questions as his grandsires had taken in sectarian ones. In both cases he simply moved in the direction of the point of least resistance. George or James—the exile of St Germain or the patron of a knot of greedy German favourites—what had he to choose between them? To him both were equally strangers and foreigners. Unlike the Highlander, he had no chieftain at whose call to rally; unlike him again, his practical nature was slow to respond to the appeal of a sentiment, a tradition. But had he foregone his ancient nature? By no means. For we shall yet see that it was but necessary to threaten his hearth and home, or to touch him in his patriotic honour, for the martial spirit of his ancestors to flame forth with all its ancient brilliancy.

The 23rd October being Sunday, the troops mustered for divine service, which was conducted according to the Episcopal rites, though not in the Episcopal meeting-house, but in the Great Kirk—a debased structure contrived within the walls of the ruined abbey. By order of Lord Kenmure, commanding in chief, Forster's chaplain, Patten, officiated. This person was to become the historian of the rising, and has since in his turn become the subject of historians. A rene-

gade and turncoat, he lived to give evidence against those whose acts he had formerly in his spiritual capacity countenanced and inspired—proclaiming with hypocritical unction that his treachery was a “duty,” by which he made all the amends in his power for the injury he had done the Government. On the present occasion the text of his discourse was appropriately chosen from Deuteronomy xxi. 17, “The right of the first-born is his”; and this impudent time-server has presumed to put on record that “it was very agreeable to see how decently and reverently the very common Highlanders behaved, answering the responses according to the rubric, to the shame of many who pretend to more polite breeding.” The afternoon service was performed by William Irvine, a Scots non-juror, who repeated a very eloquent sermon which he had previously preached before Claverhouse, when in arms against King William before Killiecrankie.

Next morning the troops, having paraded in the churchyard, were marched with drums beating, colours flying, and bagpipes playing, to the market square, where they were drawn up in a circle round the volunteers, the leaders forming the centre. Silence being enjoined, the trumpet sounded, and Seaforth of Barns, who had assumed the title of Earl of Dunfermline, proclaimed the absentee Chevalier in these words: “Whereas, by the decease of the late King James the Seventh, the imperial crowns of these realms did lineally descend to his lawful heir and son, our sovereign James the Eighth, we do declare him our lawful king over Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,” and so forth. After this there was read a document described as a manifesto of the supporters of the new king for relieving the kingdom from its oppressions and grievances, especially those arising from the union of the two kingdoms, the heavy taxes,

and the large debts resulting from the maintenance of foreign troops. This was greeted with loud acclamations and cries of "No union! No malt-tax! No salt-tax!" Then the troops returned to their quarters.

During the next three days, which were spent at Kelso, the little army—it numbered some 1400 foot and 600 horse—was undecided as to future plans, and had little to do except to forage for itself, plunder the houses of some neighbouring loyalists, and search for arms and ammunition—discovering, however, only a few muskets and broadswords, some pieces of cannon which had been brought by Bennet from Hume Castle for the defence of the town, and a small quantity of gunpowder which lay concealed in the church.

The Government troops under General Carpenter were by this time at Wooler, within a day's march. On hearing this, Kenmure summoned a council of war, and an animated debate ensued. Three plans were under consideration. The first, advocated by the Earl of Wintoun, was to march westward, reduce Dumfries and Glasgow, and open communication with the army under Mar. The second was to give immediate battle to Carpenter, whose troops consisted but of three regiments of dragoons and one of foot, composed chiefly of raw levies. This was warmly supported by the brigadier, who struck a pike into the ground and declined to budge from the spot. The third plan, and by far the worst of the three, was that of Forster and the Northumbrians, who were anxious to cross the Border and march southward, in expectation of raising the Catholic gentry of the north of England. Besides that it necessitated deserting the base of operations, this plan had the additional disadvantage of being extremely distasteful to the Highlanders, who were unwilling to set foot out of their native country. In the end a compromise was agreed upon, and the army, on leaving Kelso, proceeded

to Jedburgh. But its progress even so far was not without ominous incidents. Twice during the ten miles' march did it mistake a detachment of its own men for Carpenter's troops; and in the second instance—the alarm being carried to Jedburgh, where the horse had already arrived—something not unlike a panic ensued among them. From Jedburgh the troops marched to Hawick, where the discontent of the Highlanders broke out in actual mutiny—the men, on being surrounded upon the Town Moor, cocking their pistols and crying out that if they must be sacrificed they would choose to have it done on Scottish ground. On the other hand, upon a sudden alarm of the enemy's approach, they behaved with firmness and presence of mind. They were eventually pacified by being promised payment at the rate of 6d. a-day; but notwithstanding this, 500 deserted. The remainder, sporting blue and white cockades which had been provided in Hawick, marched with the rest of the army to Langholm, and crossed the Border on the 1st November. Meantime Carpenter's troops were following in their traces.

The ominous signs which had already shown themselves were not long in being justified. It is true that at Penrith a burlesque victory was gained over a motley host known as the *posse comitatus*, or general muster of the county. But a very few days later—to wit, on the 13th of the month—the entire army capitulated at Preston to an inferior force under Wills and Carpenter. The loss in killed was but seventeen. On the same day the army under Mar fought the battle of Sheriffmuir. In the sequel, the rebels were, on the whole, very leniently dealt with. In 1718, Kelso was one of four towns selected for the sittings of a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, specially appointed to dispose of cases arising out of the rebellion. Only one case,

however—that of a Mr Cranston—was brought before it, and this was thrown out by the grand jury.

The rebellion of 1715 was altogether a half-hearted affair. That which, thirty years later, was to assume so much more threatening proportions had at any rate the advantage of a leader of almost irresistible attractiveness, and one who, at least for the time being, displayed many of the attributes of a hero. It does not belong to the present narrative to repeat the well-known story of the romantic landing on Eriska Island, on July 23, 1745, or the unprecedented succession of events which, in the space of some six weeks, were to convert the moneyless, defenceless, almost friendless stranger of that occasion into the adored and fêted captor of the Scottish capital. Among those who had been in relations with the prince ere he left the Continent was the Peeblesshire laird, John Murray of Broughton; and when James VIII. was proclaimed king at the cross of Edinburgh, Mrs Murray, a lady of great beauty, added charm to the occasion by appearing on horseback, adorned with white ribbons, with a drawn sword in her hand. Murray himself acted as the prince's secretary, drawing up his proclamations and conducting his correspondence, and in so doing obtained immense influence over him. He figures in the subsequent transactions as a man of unbounded selfish ambition and capacity for intrigue, from whose composition the rudiments of the sense of honour had been omitted—in fact, a sort of understudy of Fergusson "the Plotter," who had been the bad angel of Monmouth in the rebellion of 1685.

After the victory at Prestonpans came several weeks spent in dalliance at Holyrood, and it was November 1 ere Charles Edward set out to march to England. His army was divided into two columns—besides a nondescript party, which prob-

ably comprised the baggage and followers, and which proceeded southward by Galashiels, Selkirk, and Hawick. The first or western column, commanded by the Dukes of Perth and Atholl, in addition to their graces' brigades, included the Lowland troops, Ogilvie's, Glenbucket's, and Roy Stewart's regiments, the artillery, and the Perth horse. These marched by Auchindinny to Peebles, and onward by Broughton, Tweedsmuir, Moffat, and Lockerby, joining the Prince's column at Newton of Rowcliff in England. At Peebles their arrival created consternation among the inhabitants, but the discipline of the soldiers seems to have been generally good. Certain contributions in money and supplies were demanded, and these being granted, no further molestation was offered.¹ Local tradition points to a field lying west of Hay Lodge as the site of the encampment, and states that the town mills were kept working over Sunday to supply meal for the soldiers. When the troops departed, certain carts and horses belonging to one David Grieve, tenant in Jedderfield, were pressed into their service. There is no record of any local organisation to resist them until fully two months later.² Tradition adds that there was but one Jacobite in Stobo when the Highlanders passed. The rest of the country-people had removed their cows to places of safety, but disdaining to follow their example, this man paid the penalty of misplaced confidence. A woman who

¹ The Orders of the Day at Peebles, 3rd to 4th November, contain the following: "It is seriously recommended to all the officers to take care that the most exact discipline be observed. . . . It is forbid, above all things, to shoot sheep, hens, &c., or break open the country-people's houses, or cause any disturbance." Also, "That no man, under pain of severe punishment, pretend to shoot off his ammunition in the idle way they have done."—*March of the Highland Army, 1745-46*, by Captain James Stuart, of Lord Ogilvie's Regiment (*Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 291).

² Chambers's Peeblesshire, p. 226.

was kept out of bed half the night to cook observed that the bread she baked was never turned on the girdle, but eaten half raw. The aspect of the country through which they marched impressed the Highlanders favourably, so that one of them is fabled to have remarked that "when she comes back she will settle in Glen Tweed." An intended domiciliary visit to Burnett, Laird of Barns, who was suspected of Jacobite leanings, was frustrated by timely warning being conveyed to him.¹

Meantime the prince's column—which was composed of the clan regiments of Lochiel, Clanranald, Glengarry, Keppoch, Cluny, and Stewart of Appin, with the remainder of the horse, amounting in all to nearly 4000 men, under Lord George Murray as second in command—had proceeded by Dalkeith to Lauder, the prince marching on foot at the head of the clans, with his target over his shoulder. On the 4th November, after returning on horseback to Channelkirk to bring up stragglers, he proceeded to Kelso, where he arrived in the evening. Thence he sent an express to Wooler with instructions to prepare quarters for the army; and the next day a party of horse, under his aide-de-camp, Ker of Graden, crossed the Tweed to scout in that direction. But this was merely a ruse to produce the impression that he intended to advance upon Newcastle. During this time—or, more probably, on the night of the 5th November—it is believed that he lodged at the now demolished house of Sunlaws, where a white rose-tree, perpetuated by cuttings, is said to have been planted by his hand. The Tanlaw at Hendersyde has also been pointed out as the scene of a bivouac of his troops.

The reception of Charles Edward at Kelso deserves a word of notice. The parish minister at the time was a

¹ Glimpses of Peebles, by the Rev. Alex. Williamson.

Mr Ramsay, a man of strong sense, a humourist, and something of a "character." Having occupied his present position at the time of the Fifteen, he had some experience of rebellion, which he now turned to account. In common with others, he had received a communication from Government, which required him to report on the Jacobites of the district. Being well acquainted in the neighbourhood, and consequently well qualified to do so, he requested those gentlemen who were supposed to be disaffected to meet him at his own house, and when they did so placed the document before them. The gentlemen were not unnaturally taken aback, on which Ramsay asked them what return they would recommend him to make to this order of the Government, and whether they knew of any persons of the character indicated. They replied with one accord that all their acquaintances were loyal. "Well, well," said the minister, "I am exceedingly glad to hear so. Had there been any *disloyal* persons in the place, I am sure that *you* must have known them; and I shall now acquaint the Privy Council that I have consulted with the most intelligent of my parishioners, who assure me that the people here are all well-affected to his Majesty's Government!"

Whether in consequence of the above action or not, it is a fact that the prince got not a single recruit in Kelso. On the other hand, desertions among the Highlanders were there particularly numerous, whilst such persons as were pressed into the transport-service returned home on the earliest opportunity. The local Jacobites confined their demonstrations of loyalty to waiting upon his Royal Highness, and assuring him of their firm attachment—in token of which it was mentioned that they never met together in an evening without pledging him. "I believe you, gentleman, I believe you," replied Charles Edward, with well-

merited dryness; "I have drinking friends, but few fighting ones, in Kelso."

On the 6th of the month the army crossed the Tweed on their way to Jedburgh. The river was hardly fordable, but the men were in high spirits—to which they gave vent, when up to the middle in water, by shouting and discharging their pieces. At Jedburgh the Prince occupied a house in the Castlegate,¹ then the property of Ainslie of Blackhill. Thence he proceeded with the clans by the Rule valley to Haggiehaugh, or Larriston, on the south side of the Liddell, the cavalry marching by Hawick and Langholm—the route taken by their predecessors thirty years before. On the next day the main body crossed the Esk into England, and spent the night at the hamlet of Riddings, being re-joined by the cavalry at Longtown.

It is natural that to this day traditions should linger round Prince Charlie's line of march. Thus it is recorded that some of the Highlanders were drowned in attempting to cross Fans Moss, near Earlston, where human bones, supposed to be theirs, with buttons, remains of cloth, and wooden spoons, forming part of their kit, have been found when peats were being cast. At Smailholm they ransacked the house of a tailor, where a web of homespun took the fancy of a Highlander, who was proceeding to cut it up when the gudewife solemnly remonstrated, saying that he would have to account for the act. "Pe Cot, when?" was the rejoinder. "At the last day," replied the pious sufferer. "That pe coot lang credit," said the robber, adding, "She was going to tak' a coat, an' will now tak' a waistcoat too." At Charterhouse there is record of a sudden invasion by armed men, at the moment when the farmer's wife and her

¹ Nos. 9 and 11. Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, by W. B. Blaikie, Esq. (Scottish History Society), p. 24.

maids were busy with the household baking. They had to bake more than they had bargained for, but were treated in return with kindness and civility, though the visitors are not understood to have made any requital beyond "Thank you," and "Good morning." From Ancrum a little girl had been sent on an errand into Jedburgh, when she suddenly found the road in possession of a great host of men, strangely dressed, and marching steadfastly onward. Terrified by their appearance, she knew not which way to turn, when a "bonnie gentleman," riding up to her, told her not to be alarmed, and kept her beside him till the Highlanders were past. The gentleman was, of course, Charles Stuart himself.

The individuals concerned in these incidents are more or less unknown, but no less a person than the poetess of "The Flowers of the Forest" had her share in the adventures of the time. The daughter of Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Lord Justice-Clerk, it was feared that her father's well-known Whig principles would incur the hostility of the rebels.¹ Accordingly when a party of armed men presented themselves at Minto, the owner made all haste to leave the house unseen. Meantime Miss Elliot, with great presence of mind, received the intruders, entertaining them hospitably until her father had had time to reach a safe hiding-place among the adjacent crags. A search was then made which proved fruitless, and the soldiers, concluding that the Justice-Clerk was not in the neighbourhood, departed. Thus, at least, runs the current version of the story, but a recent examination of the pages of the factor's accounts points to the conclusion that Lord Minto's fears for himself were more or less groundless, and that it was not his person so much as his chattels which the rebels desired to seize. Ten bolls of oats were the

¹ The Cochrane Correspondence, published by the Maitland Club, shows that he was taking an active part against the Jacobites.

dues exacted by them from the Minto tenantry, whilst the factor records that he himself was obliged, "under pain of military execution," to pay the sum of £274, 10s. 4d. Scots to John Goodwillie, "who came with a party to raise the cess [or government tax] for the rebel army." On receipt of payment, Goodwillie presented a discharge in perfect order, which is preserved.¹

The prince had staked his all upon the hazard of the die. The story of his triumphant advance to Derby, of the failure of the English Jacobites to support him, of his retreat northward, final rout at Culloden, and subsequent wanderings and adventures, does not call for repetition here. Neither are we here concerned with the penalties exacted from his supporters, or with the brutal vengeance of the "Butcher" Cumberland. With the possible exception of the duke, no one comes worse out of the entire transaction than the secretary, Murray of Broughton. Escaping from Culloden, he returned to Tweeddale, where he lay for some hours concealed in the house of Hunter of Polmood, who was his brother-in-law. This was on the 28th June, and, his retreat being discovered, probably by his own connivance, he was apprehended and carried by a party of dragoons to Edinburgh. There he did not scruple to purchase his life at the price of turning in-

¹ Under the heading Collections and Disbursements for February 1746, the session-book of Stichill has the following: "Given into the box of the money that was taken out for fear of the Highlanders, £6, 12s. 0d." The significant addition follows: "One pound sixteen-pence Scots money that would not pass for badness." In the following June, when the storm has blown over, this entry occurs: "Received into the box again the money that was taken out because of the Highlanders."

Mrs Dickson's MS., quoted above, remarks that on the 3rd November "the Highlanders and their wicked crew went through among us; they compassed us about like bees, filling our houses. . . . They tossed up and down our landside, destroying and ruining many places, till the Lord's time came to destroy them."

former—revealing the secrets of a conspiracy which had been in existence since 1740. Henceforth, under the opprobrious nickname of "Mr Evidence Murray," he was a mark for the finger of scorn. In 1770 he succeeded to the baronetcy previously held by his nephew, Murray of Stanhope. But, what with the expenses of the rising and the fines and losses which followed it, his affairs had become involved, and having been forced to sell his estate, he spent his last years in poverty, dying in 1777. Chambers, writing in 1864, remarks that "who or where the present baronet is seems unknown." As a matter of fact, the title became extinct in 1848, on the death of the eleventh baronet.

The escape of a Jacobite gentleman of this time, by rolling down the precipitous slope of the "Devil's Beef-tub" near Tweed's Well, when being conducted by a military escort to stand trial at Carlisle, will be remembered from Scott's spirited version of the story introduced into his novel of 'Redgauntlet.'

The episode of the "Forty-five" is not without its memorial in the Border counties. The Earl of Traquair of that day was a Jacobite, but foreseeing perhaps the inevitable end of the rising, he had forborne to join it. Charles Edward had, however, a great and well-justified belief in his own personal influence and powers of persuasion, and during his stay in Edinburgh he is said to have visited Traquair House, and used all means in his power to induce the earl to come "out." Finding, however, that his labour was vain, he prepared to take his departure. Wishing, doubtless, to soften the harshness of refusal, his host accompanied him to the great gate, at the head of the avenue, and there, as he bade the bonnie Prince farewell, solemnly assured him that the gates should never be opened again until Charles Stuart should re-enter them as sovereign of the kingdom. He kept

his word, his word has been kept for him, and to this day those gates remain closed. Till Arthur wake, till Charles come to his own—it is a synonym of hopeless waiting; and the suggestion of pathos in the locked gates and grass-grown avenue is appropriate to the futility of the last rally of the Stuarts, to the devotion which it inspired, and the sorrow which it brought to so many.

CONCLUSION.

PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY—WITCHCRAFT ON THE BORDERS—SECTARIAN INTOLERANCE: QUAKERS; CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION—MATERIAL IMPROVEMENTS: SCHEMES OF SIR ALEXANDER MURRAY OF STANHOPE—TOBACCO-CULTURE IN THE BORDERS—ATTENTION TO AGRICULTURE BY BORDER LAIRDS—WILLIAM DAWSON OF FROGDEN, THE “FATHER OF SCOTTISH AGRICULTURE”—OPPOSITION TO IMPROVEMENT—LIFE OF A BORDER LAIRD OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—EMBELLISHMENT OF ESTATES—LETTER OF LORD ANCRAM—CULTURE AND DISTINCTION ON THE BORDERS DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—DEVELOPMENT OF BORDER WOOLLEN MANUFACTORIES: HAWICK; GALASHIELS—CHANGES IN SOCIAL LIFE—THE PLAGUE; FIRES; DUELS—THE YETHOLM GIPSIES—BORDER SMUGGLERS—SUPERSTITIONS—WALTER SCOTT, THE ETTRICK SHEPHERD, LEYDEN, OTHER BORDER POETS—THE “FALSE ALARM”—CHARACTER OF THE MODERN BORDERER.

It remains to review rapidly the progress, moral and material, of the Border counties from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Probably the darkest and cruellest vestige of barbarity to be found in the country during the earlier portion of that period was the prosecution for witchcraft. We have seen that in the list drawn up for the guidance of the law-officers at Jedburgh figured the question: If there be any witchcraft or sorcery used in the realm? But, without research, the full significance of this question would escape us. “Among the circumstances which peculiarly characterise the earlier criminal proceedings of Scotland,” writes Pitcairn, “. . . none are more prominent than the unmitigated rigour with which the profession as well as the practice of witchcraft were punished.” The same

authority speaks of "hecatombs of innocent victims," whose lives were sacrificed to satisfy the gloomy superstitions of nations "termed Christian"—the period succeeding the Reformation being specially stained by atrocities of this kind. Perhaps the rage in question reached its height in 1661, in which year, in a single sederunt, no fewer than fourteen Commissions for the trial of witches were granted, the Commissioners being invested with powers of adding almost at will to the list of persons indicted in the Commission.¹ A memorandum preserved by Thomas, Earl of Haddington, in his Minutes of Proceedings of the Privy Council in the reign of James the Sixth, is the standard source of reference on this subject. But if Tam of the Cowgate cites no instance of witch-burning in the Border counties, we must not, I fear, on that account conclude that the district was more humane or more enlightened than, say, Coldingham parish,—where, before 1694, Home of Renton had "caused burn seven or eight" witches; or than Broughton, near Edinburgh, where some women, convicted of witchcraft, were "burnit quick, eftir sic ane crewell maner, that sum of thame deit in despair, renunceand² and blasphemeland, and utheris, half-burnt, brak out of the fyre, and wes cast in quick in it agane, quhill they wer burnt to the deid."³ An able specialist⁴ assures us that the belief in witchcraft "took deep hold of the Borderland, especially of the Scottish portion of it," and to this the records of the local Kirk Sessions bear witness;⁵ nor is tradition silent on

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 597.

² Renouncing their baptism.

³ Quoted by Pitcairn, vol. iii. p. 598.

⁴ Mr William Henderson, in Notes on the Folk Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders, p. 143.

⁵ Thus the records of Sprouston parish bear that, on May 12, 1650, Christian Melrose "cyfest [confessed] that one day there came in twa

the subject. Robert Davidson, the Morebattle poet, speaks of the traditional burning of a Jedburgh woman named Shortreed, reputed a witch, at Beggarmuir on the Hartrig estate, as late as the year 1696, and adds that similar traditions are connected with several other places in the county of Roxburgh.¹ The Wilkie Manuscript, rich in traditions of the kind, tells of a similar burning on a stone at the Bullsheugh near Selkirk, and speaks of Bullsheugh and Coslie-dale as traditional scenes of the dances of the Selkirkshire witches.²

The statutes against witchcraft were repealed in 1735. The last execution of a witch in Scotland had taken place in 1722,³—the last judicial execution, that is, for it is known that the populace still continued on occasion to take the law in these cases into its own hands. The doing to death of "Madge Wildfire" on the Hairibee at Carlisle paints an instance of this kind. But though as an indictable offence witchcraft might be dead, the dis-

cats to her house and began to drink in her water-cog, till she in great fear arose and struck them away, and spoke to them (committing herself to God), 'What have ye adoe here? Go where ye should go!' And in the meantime it is remarkable that John Davidson, brother of Mark Davidson, died at that time in a very violent and lamentable strange way." Christian was dismissed till the next day. The telling of the tale had excited suspicion, and on the 19th May it is resolved that she along with another "be cited and further dealt with for confession, seeing there are frequent scandals of both of them, and some considerable presumption rumoured." They are to be "required and advised to offer themselves to trial when opportunity serves (in case they hold themselves innocent, as they said). The Session expects they cannot refuse this course."

¹ Notes to Poems, 1848, p. 217.

² P. 103. Mr T. Wilkie was the son of the blacksmith of Bowden, described as a superior and well-to-do person, in the commencement of the present century. He was educated for the medical profession, and his collections, made for the use of Sir Walter Scott, were recently in the possession of the late Dr Hardie of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.

³ Kirkpatrick Sharpe's *History of Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 199. Burt's *Letters from the Highlands* (Letter xii.) says, in June 1727.

position to believe in it could not be quickly eradicated. In proof of this, Scott tells of a farmer who, having excited the anger of a certain old woman of questionable reputation, and been openly ill-wished by her, became the prey to misfortune in so immediate and striking a manner that he thought it well to consult the sheriff of the county, "as a friend rather than a magistrate," upon a case so extraordinary.¹ This happened in 1800, but the following incident was narrated to the writer himself by the person engaged in it. A cow belonging to him suffered from a surfeit, and for several days would eat nothing. One morning an old gentleman who was his neighbour informed him confidentially that in the speaker's belief "ill een had looked on the beast." He then proceeded to prescribe for its recovery. The owner was to go to a neighbouring plantation where the rowan-tree flourished, bring back a sprig, and place it above the byre-door. Then he was to lay salt along the cow's back, beginning at the tail and continuing to the end of the horns. My friend, who was also my tenant, laughed at these directions, and that very night as it happened the cow recovered—so that, as he always laughingly said in winding up the story, "if I had followed the prescription, I should have been converted."

Next to the disappearance of superstition, we may congratulate ourselves upon that of religious intolerance. Of the latter we have already seen many manifestations—for our present purpose, one or two more may suffice. In 1666, then, Walter Scott of Raeburn² was imprisoned as a Quaker at Jedburgh, where he was detained until 1670. During

¹ Demonology and Witchcraft, Letter ix.

² Third son of Sir William Scott of Harden, grandson of "Auld Wat," and great-great-grandfather of the most distinguished of novelists.

that time, excepting his wife, Isobel Mackdougall, who had embraced the same tenets, no person of the Quaker persuasion was admitted to visit him. His children were removed from their parents' influence, whilst a heavy tax for their maintenance was levied on the estate. In this persecution the lairds of Harden and Makerstoun, brother and brother-in-law of the victim, both took part.¹ In March 1673, there were as many as eleven men in prison at Kelso for attending a Quaker meeting.

Let us now pass on to the period, one hundred years later, when the proposal for repealing some of the more oppressive statutes against Roman Catholics was before Scotland. Dr William Somerville, who was minister of Jedburgh at the time, has left an account of the local feeling on the subject. On the whole intolerance still ruled, but it was relieved by some notable exceptions. Anti-repeal agents were going their rounds through town and village to collect subscriptions to a petition to Parliament, and in Jedburgh—where the magistrates, ministers, and people had been called together in the court-house—"there were few," says Somerville, "who did not consent to the exactions of these fanatical vagrants, though some so acted merely under the awe of that ferocious spirit which now pervaded the lower orders of the people of every religious sect." Somerville himself declined attendance on this motley assemblage, and, despite the entreaties of friends alarmed for his safety, was alone in refusing a contribution to the collection. The matter was afterwards taken up by the local presbytery, who passed a resolution that a petition and remonstrance against Catholic

¹ Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, chap. ii. Two Acts of the Privy Council directed against Raeburn are printed in the Introduction to the '*Heart of Mid-Lothian*.'

Emancipation should be presented to both Houses of Parliament. From this resolution there were, however, three dissenters, whose dissent was entered in the minutes.¹ Compare the attitude here indicated with that of the present day, and the difference will at once appear.

Meantime the material side of things was not neglected. As long ago as early in the seventeenth century the geographer Pont had commented on the wasted fertility of the haughs and valleys of Tweeddale, remarking that though the province was capable of sufficing for its own grain supply, the people subsisted chiefly upon the produce of their flocks and herds.² With peace and leisure, the idea of the improvement of the country and the development of its resources began to be prominent in men's minds. It is only natural that, at the outset, there should have been instances of misconceptions and mistakes, conspicuous among which is the case of Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope, in Peeblesshire.³ Sir Alexander's experiments were, however, made upon an outland soil. Having studied the supposed traces of prehistoric cultivation upon the high

¹ They were Mr Riccaltoun, minister of Hobkirk, the early friend of the poet Thomson, Dr Charters, and Somerville himself. Their grounds of dissent are in every way honourable to their reason as well as to their hearts: "Because the professed design is to remonstrate against the repeal of a law which invades liberty of conscience, the most valuable and sacred right of man: Because a penal statute about religion is in violent contradiction to the genius and temper of the Gospel, which breathes the most enlarged charity and goodwill even towards the ignorant, and those who are out of the way: Because the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world, can never be promoted by fines, imprisonments, or persecution of any kind, or in any degree."—"Minutes of Presbytery," 18th February 1779.

² *Theatrum Scotiæ*, p. 34.

³ He had married the daughter of the heroic Lady Grizel Baillie, but his temper proving unsuited to married life, Lady Murray soon returned to her family. Further particulars regarding a character from the first predestined to unhappiness will be found in that lady's Memoir of her parents.

grounds of his native county, he concluded that the proper method for conducting a course of improvement was to commence upon the tops of the hills. He observed that, from the settling of the clouds upon them, these spots were specially subject to humidity, and hence conceived the idea that they might be turned to account as a means of irrigating the lowlands. Unhappily the district selected by him for testing these theories was the rain-drenched promontory of Ardnamurchan in Argyllshire. Besides the above, his schemes included commerce and mining—by which means, in addition to that of agriculture, he cherished hopes of redeeming the entire population from sloth, poverty, and barbarism. Like other innovators, however,—and, as must be acknowledged, with better show of reason than is sometimes the case,—he had to encounter suspicion and opposition. As a safeguard for the furtherance of his plans, he applied for Government protection, and at length relations between himself and the people became so strained that his buildings were burnt, his sheep and cattle destroyed, and his own murder plotted. After years of futile warfare, in 1743 death interrupted his labours, when his work was allowed to lapse—the plough having now long since obliterated the last trace of the mining village to which he had given the aspiring name of “New York.” There is no doubt that he was animated by the highest aims for the good of his fellow-creatures, whilst the subsequent discovery that some at least of his ideas were grounded in reason serves but to add to the irony of his fate. An instance of a less Utopian scheme, which none the less was doomed to failure, was the attempt to cultivate tobacco in the Borders. The war with the States of America having raised the price of the weed to as much as two shillings a pound, a Mr Jackson, who had had ex-

perience of tobacco-growing abroad, raised a crop on his farm near Kelso, which he disposed of at a good profit. This sufficed to turn the attention of his neighbours in the same direction, so that, according to Somerville, there was perhaps not a single farmer in Roxburghshire or Selkirkshire who did not proceed to devote a considerable part of his arable ground to the experiment. The worthy Doctor himself tried it in his glebe, and he assures us that in the spring of 1782 many thousand acres in the Border country were planted with tobacco. Circumstances, however, did not favour the enterprise. The spring and summer were unusually late and wet, whilst later on a severe thunderstorm damaged the small proportion of the tobacco-plants which had prospered to maturity. But what dealt the final blow to the hopes of the speculators was a decision of the Crown lawyers that from the period of the Union—when the privileges of colonial trade were extended to Scotland—the colonial laws of England became equally binding on both kingdoms. In the sequel the home-grown tobacco was purchased by Government at a nominal rate and destroyed. The penalties unwittingly incurred by the growers were remitted in consideration of ignorance.

These misadventures were, however, on the whole exceptional, and constitute only the reverse side of the picture. In 1723 was founded the *Society for Improving in the Knowledge of Agriculture*, among the original members of which were Lords Lothian and Elibank. The Society increased rapidly, and in a short time included 300 of the leading landowners of Scotland. These gentlemen had agreed to meet once a fortnight to discuss such questions as the enclosing, fallowing, and manuring of land, the treatment of various soils, and the qualities of various grasses (amongst which are specified sainfoin and lucerne), and also to re-

ceive and answer questions dealing with agricultural matters from all parts of the country. In 1724 they announce a book in which such matters as fallowing, preparing ground for grass-seeds, winning and cleaning of flax, and the bleaching of linen cloth, are to be treated of. At the same time they passed a resolution discouraging the use of smuggled foreign spirits, and pledging themselves to protect the native product. It is not to be supposed that their progress was as rapid as might be desired, or that they contrived to steer entirely clear of errors, but upon the whole their work must be pronounced as useful as their aim was laudable and patriotic.¹

To a member of this society belongs the credit of laying the foundation of the leading branch of modern store-husbandry by being the first to raise turnips in the open fields; but it was to a Roxburghshire farmer that this department of industry owed its most important development. The fact was that, so long as agricultural experiments had remained in the hands of the landed gentry, there had been a tendency among professional farmers to regard them in the light of pastimes, suited to those who could afford to indulge in

¹ "Infinite was the good," writes the author of the 'Practical Husbandman' (Edinburgh, 1757), "which this Society did to their country. . . . Before it commenced, we seemed to have been several centuries behind our neighbours of England; now I hope we are within less than one of what they are, either with regard to husbandry or manufactures."—Quoted in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lord Kames*, vol. ii. p. 176.

Hill Burton locates the scene of the Society's principal achievements in Roxburghshire, vol. viii. p. 511.

"In old lordships and great baronies," says the author of a treatise on agriculture published in 1733, "most of the farmers live in what is called the Barony-town; the arable lands are divided by run-ridge, equally amongst them; and the outlying grounds are possessed by them all in common, for pasture and carting of *feal*"—or turf, for roofing or burning. The disadvantages of this system, and the inducements held out to enterprising farmers by the enclosure of land, are equally obvious.

them, but certainly not entering within the range of practical work. To this day the agricultural brain remains far from the readiest to receive new ideas, and its inertness a century and a half ago may be calculated in proportion.¹ When, however, the tenant-farmers saw one who, like themselves, had rent to pay and depended for his livelihood upon his own exertions, follow the example of the lairds, they began to regard the matter in a new light. The pioneer in this instance was William Dawson, a native of Harperton in Roxburghshire, who, having obtained practical experience in agriculture in England, settled in 1753 at Frogden in the parish of Linton, where he at once substituted the method of sowing turnips in drills for that which had before been customary of sowing them broadcast. His example was soon followed, and from this time, says the author of the Statistical History, Roxburghshire became the "scene of the most active agricultural enterprises," whilst Dawson, in addition to personal prosperity, had the satisfaction of living to see himself acknowledged as the Father of Scottish Agriculture.² Turnips were followed by artificial grasses, and these, after 1754, by the cultivation of potatoes in the fields.

An extreme instance of the opposition encountered by innovators is supplied by the case of Andrew Rodger, a farmer at Cavers in Roxburghshire, who, having devoted himself to mechanical pursuits, became in 1737 the first inventor in this country of a winnowing-machine.³ The appliance found immediate favour among farmers, and

¹ A modern instance is supplied by the case of a living Roxburghshire laird—who, had they been contemporaries, would have been a near neighbour of Dawson's—whose valuable experiments in laying down land to permanent pasture were long in receiving recognition.

² Dawson's Statistical History of Scotland, p. 952.

³ Statistical Account of Scotland, 1793, vol. viii. p. 525.

obviously this was all that the world was concerned to know of its merits. But the prejudiced and meddlesome of the sects known as "Seceders" presumed to oppose its introduction upon religious grounds, basing their opposition upon a text in Amos, and declaring impious any attempt to interfere with the natural course or volume of the wind. Robert Chambers had been informed that an uncle of the poet Gilfillan was extruded from a congregation of this kind on account of his persistent use of the machine.

A pleasant picture of the devotion of a Border laird of this period to agricultural pursuits is presented in the life of the eminent lawyer, Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kames.¹ "The seasons of vacation," says his biographer, "were usually spent in the country; and with no other interruption to his hours of study than his favourite agricultural pursuits and rural improvements demanded. Inheriting a paternal estate which, from the indolence of his predecessors, he found in a very waste and unproductive condition, he began early to turn his attention to agriculture as a science; and living in a quarter of the country bordering on England, he had the opportunity of observing the effects of a better system of farming, which he was among the first of the Scottish gentry to emulate in his own practice, and endeavour to bring into general use. In these pursuits he found a pleasing variety of employment, and a useful recreation from his sedentary occupations; and prosecuting with ardour, as was the turn of his mind, everything in which he engaged, it was his custom to oversee in person the operations of his farm-servants, and to spend every day some hours with them in the fields

¹ Born at Kames, on the Roxburghshire confines of Berwickshire, 1696; died 1782. He contributed to the literature of agriculture 'The Gentleman Farmer,' and a pamphlet on 'Flax-husbandry.'

in directing, and even aiding, their labours. One day a country gentleman of his neighbourhood coming to dine with him at Kames, found him in the fields, hard at work in assisting his men to clear the stones from a new enclosure. It was after his promotion to the rank of judge.¹ His neighbour attended him for some time, with labouring steps and much inward impatience, till summoned by the bell for dinner. 'Well, my lord,' said he, 'you have truly wrought for your meal: and pray let me ask you how much you think you will gain by that hard labour at the end of the year?' 'Why, really, my good sir,' replied the other, 'I never did calculate the value of my labour: but one thing I will venture to assert, that no man who is capable of asking that question will ever deserve the name of a *farmer*.'" The biographer goes on to say that the attitude of the questioner was characteristic of a great proportion of the Scottish country gentry at the time. Home, however, was convinced that our agricultural inferiority to our southern neighbours was much less to be attributed to difference of soil and climate than to the "indolence of the landholders, the obstinate indolence of the peasantry, and the stupid attachment of both classes to ancient habits and practices." "For the removal of these impediments, he saw that the only remedy must be the successful example of a better system; and this he determined to show in the management of his own lands, with a resolution and perseverance that did him honour, and which he had the satisfaction to see produce at length a great and general change in the agriculture of Scotland."

Outside the department of agriculture, the general improvement and embellishment of their estates began now to

¹ In 1752.

engage the attention of landlords, and it is to this period that much of the planting and laying out of parks in the Border country must be assigned. As long ago as in 1632, Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancram, had addressed a remarkable letter to his son regarding the improvement of the house and grounds of Ancram. This document, which extends to fourteen quarto pages, recalls the somewhat artificial view of natural beauty illustrated in the essay of Francis Bacon. It includes directions for pleasant alleys, to be planted with birch-trees for the sake of the perfume; for an orchard, to be formed of the best fruit-trees obtainable from the neighbouring abbeys; for avenues, nut-groves, and fish-ponds; and assigns the due importance to a "prospect." A football field is provided, and such matters as the draining of stables and the drawing of chimneys receive attention. Internally, there are directions for the formation of a "fine cabinet for books and papers"; whilst even such a detail as the shape of the dining-table is not overlooked. In prescribing a rearrangement of the lights of the dining-room window, Sir Robert desires that the latter be kept "strong in the out syde, because the world may change agayn."¹ This, unfortunately, was just what did happen, with the result that all these pleasant labours were interrupted for wellnigh a century. Early in the eighteenth century the Earl of Haddington gave an impetus to a new form of enterprise in the south of Scotland by the planting of the famous Binning and Tynninghame Woods. In the Border counties his example was followed by Sir James Naesmyth of Dawick, or New Posso, who devoted much labour and taste to the adornment of his property; and being about the middle of the century the

¹ Correspondence of the Earl of Ancram and the Earl of Lothian, vol. i. p. 62.

arbiter of fashion in his own district, he was imitated in this, as in other things, by the neighbouring gentry of Tweeddale.¹ In our own day, the number and beauty of their parks and pleasure-grounds have gained the Border counties distinction as the Scottish counterpart of a famous district of the English Midlands.

Sir James Naesmyth corresponded with Lord Kames on subjects suggested by their common pursuits, and this brings us to the consideration of literary culture in the Borders during the eighteenth century. In the youth of Kames, classical learning, having declined during the period of the religious troubles, was at a very low ebb in Scotland. But, so far as the Borders were concerned, a revival was close at hand. The year 1700 witnessed the birth at Ednam of James Thomson, the poet of the 'Seasons,' who has been called the Scottish Virgil; whilst twenty-two years later, John Home, author of the tragedy of 'Douglas,' was born in Ancrum parish. These were perhaps the last poets born in the Borders who belonged to the classical or academic school. But it must not be supposed that literary culture was there confined to its professors. In the interval of more serious employments, Henry Home found time to cultivate the muse, his name figuring with that of Thomson in a miscellany of verse published in Edinburgh in 1720. Meantime, in their beautiful seat on the banks of Kale, Sir William Bennet and his lady enjoyed the society of both Thomson and Allan Ramsay; whilst when a competition of the Royal Archers took place at "Conchapolis," or Musselburgh, both Sir William and his neighbour, Scott of Thirlstane, celebrated the event in Latin Sapphics. At a later period, Sir Gilbert Elliot was an accomplished classical scholar and elegant versifier, and had the honour

¹ Pennecuik, p. 268, note.

of entertaining Burke at Minto, where the poet Campbell also spent an autumn, soon after his success with the 'Pleasures of Hope.' Among ladies, Jane Elliot of Minto and Alison Rutherford of Fairnilee were Border poetesses who have alike won immortality by a single song; whilst Mrs Scott of Wauchope is remembered as a blue-stocking, and hostess of Robert Burns in Roxburghshire. Finally, the third Duke of Roxburghe, who died in 1804 at the age of sixty-four, was the collector of the famous Roxburghe Library, and the founder of the Roxburghe Club. Also in the closing years of the last century, science was richly represented at Jedburgh by James Veitch of Inchbonny, the peasant astronomer; by Mary Fairfax, afterwards Somerville, author of the 'Mechanism of the Heavens,' a native and frequent visitor; and by David (afterwards Sir David) Brewster, the inventor of the kaleidoscope, who was the son of the local schoolmaster.

Meantime the old fighting spirit of the Borders was employed to better purpose than had often been the case in bygone ages, in the land and sea service of the country. Among modern soldiers sprung from the old Border families the most distinguished is George Augustus Eliott, a younger son of Sir Gilbert Eliott of Stobs, created in 1787 Baron Heathfield, for his heroic three-years' defence of Gibraltar against the combined fleets of France and Spain. Among sailors, we may mention Admiral Sir James Douglas of Springwood Park, created a baronet in 1786 for long and distinguished naval services; Admiral John Elliot of Minto, fourth son of the Lord Justice-Clerk, who owes his fame specially to his defeat of the French privateersman, Thurot, off the Isle of Man in 1760; and Admiral Fairfax, a Borderer by adoption, the hero of the battle of Camperdown, and father of the celebrated Mrs Somerville.

Mungo Park, born at Foulshiels in Ettrick Forest in 1771, the son of a tenant farmer, is remembered among the greatest names in travel for his exploration of the Niger, which at the age of thirty-four cost him his life, and of which he has left delightfully written records.

A pleasing anecdote is told in Dr Carlyle's *Autobiography* that when, in 1767, the young Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch were expected to pass along the road between Hawick and Langholm, to take possession of their estates, the shepherds taught their sheep to line the way, so that the owners might see in what the riches of the land consisted. This throws a light on the pastoral side of country life at the time, and also serves to bring us to the subject of local manufactures. The rise of the local woollen-factories may almost be said to belong to a later period than that here under consideration, but their great importance, together with the changes which they have introduced in the country, forbid us to pass them by unnoticed. As late as 1798, Douglas's 'Survey' speaks of the manufactures of Roxburghshire as "very inconsiderable," adding that, "from the large quantity and good quality of the wool produced, and the excellent situations which everywhere abound for water-machinery, there is every reason to expect that the woollen branches might prosper." At that time the few manufacturers were chiefly employed in making small parcels of wool and yarn entrusted to them by their customers into cloth, flannel, or worsted stuffs according to instructions. And yet, even then, the "wobstairs" of Hawick had existed as an incorporated body for at least 150 years. Seventy years later, Douglas's possibilities are accomplished facts. In 1869 the number of sets of machines in Hawick is 68; the weight of wool carded by them, at a moderate computation, amounts to 1,801,796 lb. annually. There are 52,864 spinning-spindles,

of which 12,564 are self-acting, including spinning-frames, and 5894 turning-spindles, half of which are self-acting. There are 270 power-looms, and from 100 to 150 hand-looms.¹ The number of hosiery frames is 900. In its own way this contrast is to the full as remarkable as any of the historic changes which it has been our business to record. The first person who engaged in the stocking manufacture in this part of the country is understood to have been Bailie John Hardie, in the year 1771. The first kind of woollen cloth made for the market in Hawick was a coarse blue which was sent to Leeds to be finished. Duffle for petticoats, plaidings, blankets, and flannels, was also manufactured during the first thirty years of the century; whilst in 1826 Messrs William Wilson & Sons first used foreign wool in the manufacture of fine flannels. According to one story, it was the weather-resisting properties of the local cloth as worn by the Marquis of Lothian of the day which first started its vogue; according to another, the name "tweed" which came to be applied to it was in the first instance a mere fortunate misreading of the word "twilled."

The manufactures of Galashiels are traceable to an even earlier date than those of Hawick, being mentioned in a charter which conveys the barony to the Crown as far back as 1622. The sheep-walks of the Forest would supply abundant wool, and it is probable that the tenants of the barony—numbering then about 400—would add to their means of subsistence by dyeing and weaving the produce of the cottagers' spinning-wheels. Still, as late as 1774 the wool used in Galashiels amounted to but 794 stones of 24 lb. each. The introduction of a carding-machine, of a "billy" with twenty-four spindles, and a spinning-jenny with thirty-six spindles, in 1790 and 1791, was the beginning

¹ Bremner's Industries of Scotland, p. 197.

of a new order of things. But about 1829 the grey, drab, and blue cloths hitherto produced, together with knitting-yarns and flannels, having become unmarketable, various efforts had to be made to establish new branches of industry. These resulted in the substitution of tartans, trouserings, and tweeds for the discredited manufactures. In 1838 the number of looms employed in the town was 265, and from this time trade continued to increase, machine-work being substituted for hand-labour in almost every department, and foreign for home-grown wool. In 1869 the annual production was valued at £570,000.¹ Besides this, many mills in other towns owe their origin to the enterprise of manufacturers from Galashiels. In the meantime the towns of Peebles, Innerleithen, and Walkerburn, of Selkirk and of Jedburgh, have contributed in their due degree to developing the resources of the Border country upon similar lines.

A glance or two backward will suffice to show us many changes in which our district has participated since the seventeenth century. Thus in 1637, and again in 1644, the Plague visited the Borders, causing great devastations; whilst in 1645, in cleansing one of the infected houses at Kelso, the town was burned. Forty years after the latter misfortune again befell it, a violent wind spreading the fire, —which had first broken out in a malt-kiln,—so that within some six hours the town was in ashes. Three hundred and six families had their houses destroyed, and of these not twenty were so circumstanced as to be able to rebuild them. The losses of individual merchants are estimated in some cases at as much as twenty thousand pounds Scots; and for these disasters the only alleviation then known was a collection in the parish churches of the kingdom. Thanks to improved sanitation, fire insurance, and improved appli-

¹ Bremner's Industries of Scotland, p. 192.

ances for extinguishing fire, a repetition of such misfortunes may to-day be considered impossible.

The last records of duels in the district belong to 1707 and 1726. In the former year Walter Scott of Raeburn, having challenged Mark Pringle, of the family of Haining, for a fancied insult at the head-court of Selkirk, was slain by his antagonist in a neighbouring field, since known as *Raeburn's Meadow Spot*. Pringle escaped abroad, and having been a prisoner in the hands of Barbary pirates, returned long after to Clifton Park, to which estate his grandson eventually succeeded. In 1726, at an election for the county of Roxburgh, Sir Gilbert Elliott of Stobs, the successful candidate, having received provocation from Colonel Stewart of Hartrig, drew his sword on him as he sat opposite at table at Jedburgh. Stewart died of the wound he received, and Elliott had to take refuge in Holland, but was subsequently pardoned. The weapon with which the deed was done is still in existence at Monteviot House.

By the disappearance, or all but disappearance, of the old gipsy population, Border life has lost a highly picturesque feature. The gipsies, who first appeared in Scotland in the fifteenth century, had long frequented the Border, but their settlement in the village of Kirk Yetholm as their headquarters is referred by tradition to the date of the siege of Namur. It is said that the life of Captain David Bennet, proprietor of the barony, was there saved by a gipsy named Young, and that when the Captain returned to his native country he evinced his gratitude by building cottages for the gipsy tribe on his estate, where they continued to flourish under Nisbet of Dirleton and the Marquis of Tweeddale, the successors of their original protector. Taken in their own way, and allowed the privileges which they considered theirs by natural right, the gipsies are said to have been

tolerable neighbours, and to have shown the virtue of "trustfulness" in a high degree. But their capacity for violent action must have made them always formidable and redoubted. Pennecuik records a battle which took place at Romanno in 1677 between two families of the tribe—the Faas and the Shaws. Of the former there were present four brethren and a brother's son, of the latter a father and three sons, besides several women on either side. Old Sandie Faa, described as a bold and proper fellow, and his wife, then with child, were left dead upon the field, whilst a brother, George, was dangerously wounded. For these murders Robin Shaw and his three sons were hanged in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh. The ingenious and agreeable historian of Tweeddale—a district which his peregrinations on horseback as a doctor had taught him to know intimately—commemorated the fray by erecting a dovecot on the spot, near to his house, for which he wrote the following inscription:—

"The field of gipsie blood which here you see
A shelter for the harmless dove shall be."

Another deed of gipsy lawlessness was the burning in 1714 of the house of Brigend, now Springwood Park, in supposed revenge for a severe sentence pronounced upon one of the race by the owner, William Ker of Greenhead, in his capacity as Justice of the Peace. Of those found guilty of this act, some were branded and scourged, and others transported to the American plantations, "never to return."¹ Such acts as the above help to explain harsh treatment of the gipsies which might otherwise look very like persecution. As the reign of law afforded them less and less room for the indulgence of their native wild propensities, the Border gipsies by degrees settled down to the occupa-

¹ Craig-Brown, vol. i. p. 221.

tions of tinkering and horse-dealing, though still continuing to lead a life apart, and to produce strong characters of a marked type—such as Jean Gordon, called “the Duchess,” the original of Scott’s Meg Merrilees, who in her old age was mercilessly drowned in the Eden near Carlisle for her adherence to the Jacobite cause; Madge Gordon, who would boast that at her wedding there were fifty saddled asses, besides unnumbered asses without saddles; and Will Faa, perhaps the last distinctive King of the Gipsies, who died about 1783, and whose obsequies at Yetholm were attended by gipsies from far and near, and continued for three days and nights. To him succeeded his eldest son, a second Will Faa, who was known principally as a sportsman, and who enjoyed the privilege from Captain Wauchope, a neighbouring laird, of shooting a hare on his land as often as he chose. Early in the present century the Rev. John Baird, Minister of Yetholm, and author of a rare pamphlet entitled ‘The Scottish Gipsies’ Advocate,’¹ set himself deliberately to reclaim the local gipsies, and in the process to eradicate their native characteristics. Still, as late as 1859, when Jeffrey wrote, the strength of gipsies in Kirk Yetholm amounted to about 80—consisting chiefly of Blythes, Ruthvens, Taites, and Douglasses. Since then, intermarriage with Gentiles, and the Act of Parliament against camping, have together dealt them their death-blow as a distinct race.

Closely associated with the gipsies was the trade in smuggled spirits which was carried on over the Border before the equalisation of excise duties in the two countries. In fact, it has been asserted that at one period as many as a fifth of the population of Yetholm were employed in this business. Among these was the younger Will Faa, of whom the following anecdote is told. While engaged

¹ Lindsay & Co., Edinburgh, 1839.

with others in bringing in a cargo of smuggled gin from Bulmer on the Northumberland coast, he was surprised by a party of dragoons, one of whom sought to make him prisoner. But Will, though armed only with a cudgel, kept his adversary at bay, until by successive blows the cudgel was whittled down to nothing, when, receiving a blow upon his bow-hand, he had no choice but to yield, which he did with the plucky observation, "You've spoilt a good fiddler."

Simultaneously with the gipsies and the smugglers have passed away the poetic superstitions of old time. Of these a few remain immortalised in the ballads of the Border Minstrelsy. Such is the wild and pathetic belief in the return of the dead to their earthly homes which meets us in "Clerk Saunders" and the "Wife of Usher's Well." In the latter case the strangeness of the situation is heightened by the fact that the lost ones are represented as making their reappearance amid the full publicity of household bustle, spending an hour in family rejoicing and endearment before their inevitable and final leave-taking. The beautiful ballad of "The Young Tamlane," localised at Carterhaugh, a greensward between Ettrick and Yarrow, deals with one of those mysterious and terrible conflicts between mortals and spirits, of which, in Sir Walter Scott's day, some faint traces yet lingered on the Borders. Among other localities specified as haunted by the fairies are the Cheese Well on Minchmuir, into which it was customary for passers-by to throw a propitiatory offering, and the pastoral river Bowmont, where stones, smoothed and rounded by the action of the stream, were known to the country people as fairy cups and dishes.

About 1771, the year of Scott's birth, the old Border life, which had gone on for so many centuries, at least in

the main homogeneous, without violence of change, stood on the brink of annihilation. Democracy, machinery, and all the other great crude forces of modern existence, were about to sweep it away. Almost as if some mighty power had gazed with compunction on the spectacle, in the very nick of time a child was born whose destiny was to stand between the past and oblivion. For if, as we believe, the Borders have a richer past than any other district of the kingdom, it is to Walter Scott that they owe that inheritance. The closing page of a sketch of local history is certainly no place to attempt the estimate or the appreciation of one whose works in themselves constitute a literature—whose fame reaches wider though not higher than that of Homer or Shakespeare. Let it suffice, then, here to say that in the extraordinary width of his interests, his power of transmitting life to the results of his researches, his superhuman memory, and more than all his broad and true humanity, the Border is proud to recognise gifts which constitute Scott the greatest by far of all her sons.

The Ettrick Shepherd, born about 1770, is to some extent Scott's complement. If the vanished life of the past was Scott's empire, the vanishing supernatural world was Hogg's. In treating of the supernatural, Scott's creative power was by no means at its strongest: Hogg's genius had hardly another point of strength, but there it was supreme. Bred among the solitudes of Ettrick Forest, where the belief in fairies lingered longest, he has preserved for us the fairy, the brownie, the bogle, the spectre, and the wraith, and the life of those who believed in them, as Scott has preserved the general life and poetry of the past, in a way which could never have been approached by the mere records of history, though written with an angel's pen.

After Hogg, among Border poets, ranks rightly, in the

estimation of the average Borderer, John Leyden of Denholm, who threw his passion for his native country-side into the verse of the 'Scenes of Infancy,' and died in 1811, at the age of thirty-five—a martyr to his thirst for knowledge—on the fever-breeding shores of Java. Among minor Border poets and Border poetry must be mentioned Andrew Scott of Bowden,¹ who, in his humorous song of "Simon and Janet," turned to account experience gained as a regular in the American War in poking fun at the volunteering movement of the Napoleonic period; the idyllic strains of Robert Davidson of Morebattle,² and the patriotic inspiration of Henry Scott Riddel,³ the poet of "Scotland Yet." Nor must we forget Thomas Pringle,⁴ author of the melodious "Farewell to bonnie Teviotdale"; while Thomas Tod Stoddart,⁵ the angler-poet of the Border streams, though born in Edinburgh, sprang from a family long connected with the Yarrow district.

But a single event remains now to be recorded, and that one which will bring our narrative aptly to a close. It takes us back to the era when Bonaparte was a name of terror in Europe, the bugbear of the popular imagination. It is well known that the First Consul had repeatedly contemplated an invasion of Britain, in expectation of which event, in the first years of the century, the old system of Border beacons had been revived. That for Upper Teviotdale was piled on Crumhaugh Hill, whilst Ettrick Foresters strained their eyes in the direction of Black Andrew and the Wisp. In proportion to the danger of the time did military ardour run high in the Border counties, so that almost to a man those who were capable of bearing arms were enrolled in the local Yeomanry and Volunteer companies. At length,

¹ B. 1757; d. 1839. ² B. 1778; d. 1855. ³ B. 1798; d. 1870.

⁴ B. 1789; d. 1834. ⁵ B. 1810; d. 1880.

on the evening of January 31, 1804, the watch on Hume Castle descried what they conceived to be the long-looked-for signal. They at once fired their beacon, and with the speed of magic the signal was repeated from hill to hill through Teviotdale, Liddesdale, and Tweeddale. Three hundred years earlier this had been no unaccustomed spectacle, only then it spoke of the advance of an English enemy, now of that of a French one. And, as of old, no sooner was the signal seen than all was alertness. The watcher upon Dunian, having fired his cresset, fled across country to communicate the alarm in person, arriving in the market-place of Jedburgh breathless and exhausted, and only able to point to the blaze and enunciate the words, "The French, the French!" Then, without loss of a moment, the town bell was set a-ringing, whilst the Tip, or town-drummer, paraded the streets, beating to arms. The town's-people crowded to the Market Cross, and eagerly the question was exchanged, "Where hae they landed?" In default of information, the ports of Leith and Berwick were hazarded by way of answer, whilst the flames of watch-fires shooting upwards and casting a glare over the scene seemed to insist on the imminence of the danger.

Meantime, in the households of the surrounding country, all was bustle and commotion. The farmers, who were for the most part members of the Yeomanry, hurriedly accoutred, hastened to the rendezvous, whilst their womenkind, anxious to see the last of them, or seeking for themselves the protection of the town, followed in vehicles with baggage and provisions. The Volunteers turned out well. Sir Gilbert Elliot, their lieutenant-colonel, swam his horse over Teviot, which was flooded; and though most of the officers lived in the country, they were soon parading their men in the market-place, and when the roll was called over, comparatively

few names remained unanswered. In the council-chamber, which was thronged, the provost, mounting the table, demanded that a certain number of rounds of ammunition should be served out to the men, after which it was decided to await the morning, when more definite information or instructions would doubtless be received. When, at six o'clock next morning, the Yeomanry bugler sounded to saddle, every man of the corps was in his place. In Hawick, Kelso, Selkirk, and Galashiels, similar scenes were enacted — the Volunteers in each instance mustering gallantly under leaders generally bearing the old Border names; whilst from the neighbouring villages smaller contingents marched boldly in under the leadership of the local minister or schoolmaster. No doubt, as was unavoidable under the circumstances, several ludicrous incidents occurred, whilst one or two cases of arrant cowardice are also reported. The whole proceedings, too, have their laughable side, as a fine example of "much ado about nothing," for the alarm proved a false one; and none, we may be sure, would be more ready to laugh over them, when the right time came, than those who had taken part in them. But if they have a laughable side, they have also a serious one. If there were burlesque traits, there were also traits of something very like heroism.¹ Panic was conspicuous by its absence. On all sides, as we have seen, the Volunteers responded well to the call, and in some cases their appearance and conduct were from the military point of view highly creditable. Sir Walter Scott, ever alive to the virtues of the soldier, noted that the Selkirkshire Yeomanry made a remarkable march, reaching Dalkeith by one o'clock on the day following the alarm, with men and horses in good order, notwith-

¹ John Younger, the literary cobbler of Longnewton, has left a spirited account of his experiences as an amateur soldier and of the night of the alarm (Autobiography, chap. xix.)

standing that the state of the roads was bad, and that many of the troopers had ridden forty or fifty miles without drawing rein. Be it remembered, too, that these were men who in their daily lives followed the most peaceful of occupations, and that the foe they were called upon to face was perhaps the most formidable that the world has ever seen. When all these things are considered, it must, I think, be acknowledged that a life of peace and plenty had not yet dulled the old spirit of the Borderer, who in defence of hearth and home, and in response to the call of duty, was prepared to show as brave a front as did ever one of his marauding or moss-trooping forebears.

Autres temps, autres mœurs. The old Border virtue which in bygone times had been so oft requisitioned to daunt the English, and perhaps for other less creditable ends, has now been for wellnigh two centuries applied to the subduing and culture of the soil and the development of the resources of the country. The fame of Border farming and of Border textile fabrics speaks to the success with which this application has been made. Nor have the gentry lagged behind their neighbours. In the encouragement of health-giving and ennobling field-sports, in the laying out and beautifying of their parks and pleasure-grounds, and in the able and conscientious management of local affairs, they have well served their day and generation. But neither have the limits of the Border counties, or of the country at large, formed a restraint to the enterprise of the Borderer. The map of the province of Otago, Middle Island of New Zealand, reveals the familiar nomenclature, Kelso, Roxburgh, Ettrick, Cardrona, and so on—thus proving that the district was originally settled by men from the Border counties. There, too, as in Canada, Australia, and elsewhere in our colonies, such old Border surnames as Scott and Kerr, Douglas and Elliot, will gener-

ally be found well represented, and many who bear them have risen by their own qualities and exertions to positions of wealth and trust, becoming large landowners, or proprietors of enormous flocks and herds. Their practical knowledge of agriculture, sheep-breeding, and wool-dressing, gained in the Borders, has stood them in good stead. But better still have served them that native energy, intelligence in practical matters, independence, reliability, and frugality which, after centuries of training and the action of varied forces, emerge as the dominant characteristics of the modern Borderer, raising him to a position which, from the point of view of practical utility, is on a level with the very highest. And, lest this estimate appear too partial, let me add that it has been formed by one who, though a resident in the Borders, is by birth and blood a half-foreigner and an alien. Neither is the writer blind to the shortcomings of the Borderer. When Bishop Leslie described him, it was as a poet and musician. The Border ballads constitute an undying proof of his imaginative power. But to-day the practical side of life has driven out these things. If imagination exist, it at least finds no outlet, no congenial play in the daily life of the modern Borders. If Border poetry and folk-music be not dead, they are at least fallen strangely silent.

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OR PUBLISHED IN
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A True History Of several Honourable Families of the Right Honourable Name of Scot, In the Shires of Roxburgh and Selkirk, and others adjacent. Gathered out of Ancient Chronicles, Histories, and Traditions of our Fathers.

Satchels's Post'ral, Humbly presented to his Noble and Worthy Friends of the Names of Scot and Elliot, and others. By Capt. Walter Scot,

An old Souldier, and no Scholler,
And one that can Write nane,
But just the Letters of his Name.

4to. Edinburgh, Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer to His most Sacred Majesty, City, and Colledge, 1688.

The rarity of the original edition of Satchell's is such that the copy now at Abbotsford was the only one Mr Constable had ever seen—and no wonder, for the author's envoy is in these words:—

"Begone, my book, stretch forth thy wings and fly
Amongst the nobles and gentility;
Thou'rt not to sell to scavengers and clowns,
But given to worthy persons of renown.
The number's few I've printed, in regard
My charges have been great, and I hope reward;
I caus'd not print many above twelve score,
And the printers are engaged that they shall print no more."
—Lockhart's 'Life of Sir Walter Scott.'

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INDEX.

- Aberbrothoc, the Abbey of, founded by a colony of monks from Kelso, 62.
- Æthelfrith, grandson of Ida, 33—routs Aidan's army at Degsastane, 33.
- Agricola, reference to 'Life' of by Tacitus, 1—sent as consular legate to Britain, *ib.*—crosses the Border, 2—his campaign in Scotland, 3 *et seq.*
- "Agricola's Camp" at Towford, 11.
- Agriculture, the monks of Kelso give attention to, 70—receives attention in the Borders, 343—Sir Alexander Murray's schemes, 410—"Society for Improving in the Knowledge of Agriculture" founded, 412—improvements in methods of, 413—the "Seceders" oppose the use of the winnowing-machine, 414—interest of Lord Kames in, 415.
- Aidan installed by Oswald at Lindisfarne, 36.
- Aidan, King of Strathclyde, defeated at Degsastane, 33.
- Albany and Douglas, the "Foul Raid" of, 202.
- Alexander II. espouses the cause of the English barons, 126—warfare against the English, *ib. et seq.*—peace arranged and marriage with Henry's sister, 128—revives the claims to the Northern Counties, *ib.*—finally renounces his claim, 129—his second marriage, *ib.*—his death, 131—attempts to fix the Border line, *ib.*—first code of Border laws, 131-134.
- Alexander III.: opening years of his reign, 134—*coup-d'état* at Kelso, *ib.*—the *contre-coup*, 136—his second marriage, 137—his tragic death, 138.
- Allectus, Romans recapture Britain from, 15.
- Altars, votive, at Newstead, 10.
- Ancram, Robert Kerr, first Earl of, letter from, regarding the improvement of his house and grounds, 417.
- Ancrum Moor, battle of, 282.
- Anderson, Dr Joseph, on the Roman camp at Cappuck, 6 *et seq.*
- Armstrong, first historical mention of the name, 112.
- Armstrong, Johnie, 267—death of, 270—his character, 271.
- Armstrong, William, "Christie's Will," exploits of, 350.
- Armstrong, Willie, of Westburnflat, anecdote of, 352.
- Arthur, King, 29—his exploits in the Borders, 30—his death, 31.
- Baillie, Robert, Principal of Glasgow University, his account of Leslie's camp on Duns Law, 363.
- Baliol, Edward, placed on the Scottish throne, 172—surrenders the liberties of Scotland at Roxburgh, *ib.*—withdraws from Scotland, 174—makes a second surrender to Edward, 178.
- Baliol, John, swears fealty to Edward and is crowned at Scone, 143—his character, *ib.*—releases Edward from the treaty of Birgham, 144.
- Ballads of the Borders, 272 *et seq.*, 309-312.
- Beacons, Act of Parliament regarding, 231—revived to guard against invasion of Napoleon, 428—the false alarm, 429.
- Beaugué, Jean de, his narrative of the French assault on Fernihirst, 291.

- Berwick sacked by Edward, 145—Edward returns to, after conquering Scotland, 147—given up to the English, 173—seized by seven Scots, 181—tournament held by Edward III. at, 191—surrenders to Henry, 199—threatened siege by Albany, 202—retaken by the English, 238—Surrey's letter from, 258.
- Birgham, convention at, 141.
- Blythbank Hill, fort at, 19.
- Borders, Roman influence on, 12 *et seq.*—prehistoric remains in, 17 *et seq.*—King Arthur, 29—Merlin, 31—division of the country, 32—*Ida, ib.*—disturbed condition under Malcolm II., 52—comes into prominence under David I., 56—Border warfare of David I., 58—progress under David I., 59—foundation of abbeys, 60—minor religious establishments, 85—formation of parishes, 86—early Border churches, 87—dawn of thought and poetry, 89—land-names, 104 *et seq.*—landowners, 108—origin of Border families, 109—by names, 114—castles, 115—peels, 117—burghs, 118—devastated by King John, 126—Border warfare of Alexander II., 127—attempt to fix the Border line, 131—the first code of Border laws, *ib.*—Henry III. on the Border, 134—approaching sufferings, 140—provisions relating to Marches at the Birgham Convention, 141—incursion into Cumberland and Northumberland, 145—names in the Ragman Rolls of those swearing allegiance to Edward, 146—William Wallace, 149—Sir Simon Fraser, 153—under English rule, 156—Bruce, 157—Douglas's achievements, 158—Scottish raid after Bannockburn, 160—an abortive peace, 163—raid into Weardale, 164—peace of Northampton, 165—Roxburgh, Jedburgh, the Forest, and Peebles given up to the English, 173—regained by the Scots, 174—the pestilence, 176—Edward III. brings a great part under English rule, 179—the "Bloody Fair," 180—raids and counter-raids, 181—attempts at peace-making, 182—effect of the treaty of Leu-linghame, 192—hostilities resumed, 194—the regaining of the old limits always kept in view, 201—provisions concerning, in the seven years' truce of James I., 204—a future pope's impressions of the country, 206—outbreak of hostilities in 1435, 210—manners of the age, 215—new provisions of the truce of 1438, 217—second code of March laws, 230—third series of laws, 236—new clause in treaty of 1491, 240—treaty of 1498, 242—rise of moss-trooping, 243—James IV. on the Borders, 244—Flodden, 249 *et seq.*—description of a raid, 267—early Border poets, 272—expedition of Hertford, 279—incursion of Sir Ralph Eure, 280—further English raids, 281—Hertford's second incursion, 284—Hertford's third expedition, 288—submission of the Borderers, 289—old boundaries restored, 293—religious apathy, 294—Queen Mary in the Borders, 298—Bishop Leslie's account of the manners of the Borderers, 305—ballads, 309—the last great Border fray, 317—by names from the March Bills, 326—effect of the Union, 334—the final raids, 335—the Commission of 1605 to reduce the Borders to order, 336—Borderers in foreign wars, 341—agriculture begins to receive attention, 343—education and religion, 345—hamesucken, 348—cattle-maiming, 349—statutes against cattle-stealing, 353—the Covenanters, 361 *et seq.*—religious intolerance, 374, 409—immorality in the seventeenth century, 376—recrudescence of moss-trooping, 378—conventicles, 381—indifference to the Rebellion of '15, 392—the '45, 396—witchcraft, 405—development of natural resources, 410—poets and men of culture and distinction, 418—rise of manufactures, 420—pestilence and fire, 422—duels, 423—gipsies, *ib.*—smuggling, 425—superstitions, 426—famous Borderers, *ib. et seq.*—the modern Borderer, 431.
- Bothwell, 298—accompanies Queen Mary in Megotland, 299—his friendship with the queen, *ib.*—his character, 300—wounded at Hermitage, *ib.*—visited by the queen, 301—brought to Jedburgh, 302.
- Bothwell, Francis Stuart, Earl of, a typical Borderer, 323—his attempt to seize the king, 324—the latter years of his life, *ib. et seq.*
- Brewster, Sir David, 419.
- Broch at Torwoodlee, 22.
- Bruce acknowledged king by the greater part of Teviotdale, 159—raids across the Border, 162—his expedition into Northumberland, 165—provides for the restoration of

- Melrose Abbey, 166—his heart intrusted to Douglas, to be conveyed to the Holy Land, 167—"Good King Robert's Testament," 168.
- Brunanburh, battle of, 46.
- Buccleuch, second Earl of, succeeded by his daughter Mary, 378—her marriage and death, *ib.*—her sister Anna succeeds, *ib.*—her marriage to the Duke of Buccleuch and Monmouth, 379.
- Buccleuch and Monmouth, Duke of, character of, 379.
- Buchanan, George, his account of the siege of Wark Castle, 260.
- Burghs, the rise of, in the Borders, 118—charter of Selkirk, 119—rights and duties of burghers, 120—a Scottish town of the thirteenth century, 121.
- "Burnt Candlemas," 178.
- Burton, J. Hill, his 'History of Scotland' referred to, 3.
- "By-names" in the Border, 115—in the March Bills, 326.
- Cameron, Richard, 383—vindication of, by Peter Walker, 387.
- "Camps, British," in the Borders, 18.
- Cannon, early use of, in Border warfare, 199.
- Cappuck, description of Roman camp at, 6 *et seq.*
- Carausius usurps dominion in Britain, 14 *et seq.*
- Carham, Malcolm II. gains a victory at, 49—the Lord of Gordon defeats Sir John Lilburn at, 181.
- Carlyle, Dr. anecdote from his 'Autobiography,' 420.
- Castles of the Borders, 115.
- Catholics, persecution of, in the seventeenth century, 374—attacked by the Covenanters, 387—agitation in the Borders against emancipation of, 409.
- Catrail, or Picts' Work Dyke, 23—its probable course, 24 *et seq.*—conjectures regarding, 25 *et seq.*—etymology of the name, 27.
- Cattle-maiming in the Borders, 349.
- Cattle-stealing, statutes against, 353.
- Caves, artificial, in the Borders, 17 *et seq.*—article by Mr James Wilson on, 17, note.
- Chambers, his 'History of Peebles-shire' referred to, 20.
- Charles I. endeavours to bring the Scottish Church into conformity with that of England, 360.
- Cheviots, unlawful hunting and timber-felling in, 354—restricted by James VI., 355.
- Christianity, Northumbria converted to, 35 *et seq.*
- Church discipline in the seventeenth century, 375—fails in its purpose, 376.
- Churches, early Border, 85—formation of parishes, 86.
- Cists, 28.
- Clifford, Professor, criticism of his views of conduct of Edward I., 148.
- Cokburn, William, of Henderland, convicted of theft and of levying blackmail, and beheaded, 269.
- Coklaw, siege of, by Hotspur, 197.
- Constantine the Great, 15.
- Constantius the Pale recaptures Britain, 15.
- Conventicles in the Borders, 381—at Selkirk, 384—dispersed by armed force, 385.
- Covenanters: renewal of the National Covenant in 1638, 361—their demands, *ib.*—General Leslie marches to the Borders, 362—Pacification of Berwick, 365—Covenanters enter England, *ib.*—Leslie advances to Melrose, 369—Philiphaugh, 370—in Tweeddale, 386—their attacks on Catholics, 387.
- Crailing, artificial caves at, 18.
- Cranstoun, Sir William, assists Dundar in bringing the Borders to order, 338.
- Cromwell crosses the Tweed, 377—siege of Neidpath, *ib.*
- Cuthbert, birth and early years, 37—enters the monastery of Melrose, 38—succeeds Boisil, 39—evangelises from village to village, *ib.*—credited with miraculous powers, 40—appointed Abbot at Lindisfarne, *ib.*—withdraws to the Inner Farne, *ib.*—called to the episcopal see of Lindisfarne, 41—his death, *ib.*
- Dacre's raids, 253.
- Danes invade Britain, 44 *et seq.*—conquest of Northumbria, 45—battle of Brunanburh, 46—their third great invasion, 49.
- David I. succeeds to the throne, 56—Border warfare of, 58—his reign memorable for advancement in the arts of peace, 59—the biography of, 60—founds Kelso Abbey, *ib.*—his grants to Kelso Abbey, 65 *et seq.*—grants to Jedburgh Abbey, 80—the extent of his influence, 122.
- David II. returns from France, 173—crosses the Border thrice with an army, 174—a truce, 175—is made

- prisoner at Neville's Cross, *ib.*—returns to Scotland, 180—his death, *ib.*
- Davidson, Robert, of Morehattle, 428.
- Dawson, William, the Father of Scottish Agriculture, 414.
- Degsastane, battle of, 33.
- Dessé, De, French under, assist in driving English out of Scotland, 291.
- Douglas, origin of the family of, 111—first historical mention of the name, 112.
- Douglas, Archibald, Earl of Angus, "Bell-the-Cat," warden of the Marches, 239—his treaty with Henry VII., *ib.*—deprived of Liddesdale, 240—possesses himself of the king's person, 261—attacked by Buccleuch, *ib.*—fall of, 264—joins Arran and attacks the English under Sir Ralph Eure, 281.
- Douglas, Archibald, fifth Earl of, 218—his character and death, 219.
- Douglas, Archibald, "Tineman," 195—routed at Homildon and made prisoner, 196—again captured by the English, 197—liberated and burns Penrith, 201—the "Fool Raid," 202—his death at Verneuil, 204.
- Douglas, James, second Earl of, enters England and captures Hotspur's pennon, 186—his camp surprised, 187—Otterburn, 188—his death, 189.
- Douglas, James, seventh Earl of, known as "Gross James," 221.
- Douglas, James, ninth Earl of, his high knightly reputation, 225—his proclamation at the market-cross of Stirling, *ib.*—he submits to the king, 226—marries the Fair Maid of Galloway, *ib.*—flees to England, 227—his adherents defeated at Arkinholm, 228—outlawed, *ib.*—disposal of his estates, 229—joins Albany, and made prisoner at Lochmaben, *ib.*—ends his days in the Abbey of Lindores, 230—intrigues of Edward IV. with, 235.
- Douglas, Admiral Sir James, of Springwood Park, 419.
- Douglas, "the Good Sir James," a devoted adherent of Bruce's, 157—takes Roxburgh Castle by stratagem, 158—his victory at Lint-haughlee, 161—his raid into Wear-dale, 164—intrusted to convey Bruce's heart to the Holy Land, 167—is killed in battle with the Saracens, *ib.*—manners and appearance of, as described by Barbour, 169—his last speech as told in the "Howlat," 170.
- Douglas, William, sixth Earl of, his character, 219—beheaded at Edinburgh Castle, 220.
- Douglas, William, eighth Earl of, his relations with James II., 221—marries the Maid of Galloway, 222—his large estates and great power, *ib.*—his alliance with Crawford, 223—murdered by James III. at Stirling Castle, 224.
- Douglas, William, the knight of Liddesdale, taken prisoner by the English, 173—murders Da-housie at Hermitage, 174—slain by William, Lord Douglas, *ib.*
- Dreva, fort at, 19.
- Drithelm a visionary and ascetic, 89.
- Duels in the Border, 423.
- Dunbar, Earl of, his summary method of judicial procedure, 338—his success in bringing the Borders to order, 339.
- Dunbar, Edward defeats the Scots at, 145.
- Duns Park, Sir Henry Percy compelled to retreat at, 181.
- Durie, Lord, kidnapping of, by William Armstrong, 350.
- Ecclesiastical matters paramount in the Borders from David I. to Alexander III., 88.
- Eddleston, fort at, 20.
- Education in the Borders, 345.
- Edward I. summoned to the Border, 142—his superiority acknowledged, *ib.*—his judgment between the rival claimants of the Scottish crown, 143—released by Baliol from the Treaty of Birgham, 144—sacks Berwick and defeats the Scots at Dunbar, 145—his itinerary through the Borders, *ib.*—returns to Berwick after conquering Scotland, 147—arranges for the administration of the country, 148—the true character of the struggle, *ib.*—defeats Wallace at Falkirk, 151—further incursions into Scotland, 153.
- Edward II. passes through the Border counties in one of his invasions, 159—another invasion, 162—sacks Melrose Abbey, *ib.*—concludes a peace, 163.
- Edward III., hostilities again break out on the accession of, 163—Baliol surrenders the liberties of Scotland to, 172—victory at Halidon Hill, 173—second surrender of Baliol

- at Roxburgh, 178—makes a ferocious raid into Scotland, *ib.*—brings a great part of the Borders again under English rule, 179.
- Eildon, prehistoric town on, 21.
- Elizabeth, Queen, sends a force into the Borders, 315.
- Elliot, Sir Gilbert, a scholar and versifier, 418.
- Elliot, Jane, poetess, 419.
- Elliot, Admiral John, of Minto, 419.
- Elliot, the name traced in Liddesdale to the fifteenth century, 113.
- English rule of the Borders, 156 *et seq.*
- Estates, landlords turn their attention to the improvement of, 416.
- Eure, Sir Ralph, his incursion on the Borders, 280.
- Eye Castle, broch at Torwoodlee so called, 23.
- "Fair Maid of Galloway" receives the unentailed estates of the sixth Earl of Douglas, 221—marriage with the eighth Earl, 222—marriage with the ninth Earl, 226.
- Fairfax, Admiral, 419.
- Fernihirst, Dacre's assault on, 258—and its sequel, 259—recaptured by the French under De Dessé, 291.
- Flodden, causes which led to, 245—events preceding the battle, 247—infatuation of the king, 248—the lesson of Flodden, 249—account of the battle, *ib.*—death of the king, 250—Scottish losses, 251—local traditions of the battle, 252.
- "Flower of Yarrow," marriage of, to "Old Wat of Harden," 327—traditions concerning, *ib.*
- "Fool Raid," the, 202.
- Forts or "British Camps" in the Borders, 18 *et seq.*
- Fraser, Sir Simon, his family, 153—his early indecision, 155—joins the national party, *ib.*—his heroism and execution, 156.
- French send money and men under De Garancières to stir up the Scots against Edward III., 177—the fight at Nisbet, *ib.*—Jean de Vienne assists the Border chieftains, 183—their contempt for the Scottish Border, *ib.*—De Dessé and his troops assist in expelling the English, 291 *et seq.*—false alarm of invasion by, 428.
- Froissart, his description of Scottish soldiers and their habits, 163.
- Galashiels, manufactures of, 421.
- Garancières, De, sent by the French to stir up the Scots against Edward III., 177—the fight at Nisbet, *ib.*
- Gipsies of Yetholm, 423.
- Glasgow Cathedral, free Assembly convened in, 361.
- Glennie, J. S. Stuart, reference to 'Arthurian Localities' by, 28.
- "Good King Robert's Testament," 168.
- Gordon, Jean, original of Scott's Meg Merrilees, 425.
- Grahamslaw, artificial cave at, 18.
- Gray, Sir Thomas, made prisoner at Nisbet, 177—composes 'Scalacronica' during his confinement in Edinburgh Castle, *ib.*
- Hadden Rig, affair of, 274.
- Hadden Stank, March meeting at, makes provision for Scots-Englishmen and English-Scotsmen, 193—international meetings continued at, 201.
- Hadrian, the wall of, 13.
- Halidon Hill, Scots defeat at, 173.
- Hall, Henry, of Haugh-head, 383.
- Hall, Hobbie, 345.
- Hamesucken in the Borders, 348.
- Hamilton, Sir Thomas, of Priestfield, raised to the peerage as Earl of Melrose, and afterwards created Earl of Haddington, 358.
- Harehope Fort, fort at, 19.
- Harehope Rings, fort at, 19.
- Hawick, burnt by Sir Robert Umfraville, 202—Dacre's raids, 253—the Hornshole incident, 254—Moray's descent on, 297—burnt by Sussex and Hunsdon, 315—the Jacobites at, 395—manufactures of, 420.
- Heathfield, Baron, 419.
- Henderland, fort at, 20.
- Henry IV. the last English sovereign to lead an invasion of Scotland in person, 195.
- Henry VIII. attempts to dictate dismissal of the Regent Albany and provokes war, 257—his efforts to bring about the union of the two countries, 277—his anger at the defeat of his plans, 278—sends an expedition under Hertford, 279—expedition under Sir Ralph Eure, 280—second expedition of Hertford, 284—third expedition of Hertford, 288.
- Hermitage Castle, 117.
- Hertford, expedition under, 279—his ruthlessness, *ib.*—second expedition, 284—destruction of Kelso and other abbeys, 285—list of fortresses, &c., destroyed, 286—third expedition,

- 288—repairs Roxburgh Castle, 289
—receives the submission of Border gentlemen, *ib.*—Buccleuch's submission, 290.
- Hogg, James, the Ettrick Shepherd, 427.
- Home, John, author of 'Douglas,' 418.
- Homildon, rout of, 196.
- Honorius, the Emperor, withdraws Roman troops from Britain, 16.
- Horse-racing at Peebles, 346.
- 'Houlate, the Buke of the,' by Sir Richard Holland, 170.
- Ida establishes himself as King of Bernicia, 32.
- Implements of Stone and Bronze Ages, finds of, 28.
- Independence of Scotland recognised by Peace of Northampton, 165.
- Innes, Cosmo, his description of a thirteenth-century town, 121.
- Jacobite rising of '15: the rebels enter Kelso, 391—indifference of the inhabitants, *ib.*—sermon by Rev. Mr Patten in the Great Kirk, 392—James VIII. proclaimed king, 393—differences of the generals, 394—they march to Jedburgh, 395—mutiny of the Highlanders at Hawick, *ib.*—end of the campaign, *ib.*
- Jacobite rising of '45: Murray of Broughton, 396—Charles Edward's troops at Peebles, 397—the Prince at Kelso, 398—conduct of the parish minister of Kelso, 399—the army crosses the Tweed, 400—traditions of the march, *ib.*—Murray of Broughton turns traitor, 402—incident from 'Redgauntlet,' 403—the locked gates of Traquair, *ib.*
- James I. returns from his captivity in England, 204—concludes a seven years' truce, *ib.*—his speech on crossing the Border, 206—preserves peace in the Borders, 208—truce of 1429, 209—outbreak of war, 210—besieges Roxburgh, *ib.*—murdered at Perth, 211—'Peebles to the Play,' *ib.*—his forfeiture of the Earl of March, 218.
- James II., his siege of Roxburgh, 232—his death, 233—heroic bearing of his Queen, 234.
- James III. crowned in Kelso Abbey, 234—character of, 238—Borderers in rebellion against, *ib.*
- James IV. supports Perkin Warbeck, 241—marriage with Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., 243—treaty of Perpetual Peace, *ib.*—in the Borders, 244—infatuation of his acts, 247—Flodden, 249—his death, 250.
- James V. declared competent to govern, 261—escapes from Angus at Falkland Palace, 264—restores Buccleuch, *ib.*—deals with the Borders, 265, 269—his expedition routed at Solway Moss, 275—his death, *ib.*
- James VI., marriage of, 323—Bothwell attempts to seize his person at Holyrood, 324—his work on the Borders underestimated, 336—appoints a Commission to reduce the Borders to order, 337.
- Janet's Brae, fort at, 20.
- Jedburgh, early mention of, 56—marriage of Alexander III. at, 137—given up to the English, 173—burnt by Sir Robert Umfraville, 202—captured and burnt by Surrey and Dacre, 257—surprised by Lord Eure, 280—visit of Queen Mary, 299 *et seq.*—her house there, 304—insult to a herald at, 316—incident on the accession of William and Mary, 389—the Jacobites at, 395—Charles Edward at, 400.
- Jedburgh Abbey, chapel at Old Jedburgh, 79—company of Augustine Friars established at, 80—their priory erected by David into an abbey, *ib.*—grants to the Abbey, *ib.*—daily life of the monks, 82—architecture of the Abbey, 83—burnt by Lord Eure, 280—destroyed by Hertford, 285—dissolution of the monastery and disposal of the lands, 294.
- Jedburgh Castle, 115, 116—in the hands of the English, 156—given up to the English, 173—taken and plundered by the people of Teviotdale, 200—its demolition, *ib.*
- Jedwood Forest, raid of, 256.
- Jeffrey, his views of the course of Watling Street, 5—of the Wheel Causey, 6.
- "Jethart Justice," origin of the phrase, 338.
- John of Gaunt's invasions, 182.
- Kames, Lord, his devotion to agricultural pursuits, 415.
- Kelso, etymology of the name, 104—attacked by Shrewsbury, 257—occupied by Hertford, 284—Covenanting troops under Leslie at, 362—entry of the Jacobites, 391—Mr Patten's sermon in the Great Kirk, 392—James VIII. proclaimed king, 393—Charles Edward at, 398—the town burnt, 422.

- Kelso Abbey founded, 60—its abbots, 61—receives special privileges, 62—its architecture, 63—its cultivation of arts and crafts, 64—royal grants, 65—private benefactions to, 67—the systems of cultivation and tenancy of land pursued by the monks, 69-73—its capture and destruction by Hertford, 285.
- Ker, first historical mention of the name, 112.
- Ker, Habby or Robert, 103.
- Ker, Sir Robert, afterwards Earl of Ancrum, 357.
- Ker, Sir Robert, of Cessford, raised to the peerage, and afterwards becomes Earl of Roxburghe, 356.
- Ker, Sir Robert, of Fernihirst, murder of, 246.
- Kerr, Robert, fourth son of Sir Thomas Kerr of Fernihirst, raised to the peerage as Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset, 358.
- Kerr, William, of Ancrum, murdered by Cessford, 322.
- Kinmont Willie imprisoned by the English, 330—his rescue, 331.
- Kippilaw, fort at, of doubtful Roman origin, 11.
- Kirk of the Shiels, the founding of, 59—colony of thirteen monks established by David at, 60.
- Kirkton, fort at, 21.
- Land-names, Border, 104—views of Professor Veitch, 106.
- Landowners of the Border, 108.
- Leslie, Bishop, his 'History of Scotland' referred to, 232—his description of the manners of the Borderers, 305-309.
- Leslie, General, marches to the Borders and reinforces Kelso, 362—his camp on Duns Law, *ib.*—Pacification of Berwick, 365—advances to Melrose, 369—surprises Montrose at Philiphaugh, *ib.*—the battle, 370—vindictiveness of the victors, 372—traditions of the battle, 373.
- Leu-linghame, Treaty of, between England and France, 192.
- Leyden, John, 428.
- Liddesdale, claim of Thomas, Lord Wake, to the lands of, 171.
- Lollius Urbicus resumes possession of the south of Scotland, 13.
- Lothian, supposed cession of, by Edgar, 48—Malcolm II. attempts to take possession of, 49—and gains it by his victory of Carham, *ib.*
- Lyne, camp at, probably of authentic Roman origin, 10.
- Macdonald, Dr James, his conclusions regarding Watling Street, 5—regarding the Wheel Causey, 6.
- "Maid Lilliard," tradition of, 283.
- Maitland of Lethington, his "Complaynt aganis the Thievis of Liddisdail," 265.
- Malcolm II. attempts to seize Lothian, 49—gains a victory at Carham, *ib.*
- Malcolm IV. compelled to yield the three northern counties to the English, 123.
- Malcolm Canmore: character of his reign, 53—his invasions of Northumberland, *ib.*—the different provinces amalgamated, 54—his queen, 55.
- Manufactures, rise of, in the Borders, 420.
- March, George, Earl of, avenges the murder of his servant at Roxburgh, 180—quarrel with Douglas, 194—his death by pestilence, 203—his character, *ib.*
- "March Bills," 325—by-names in, 326.
- March meetings at Hadden, 193—unable to cope with difficulties and a source of danger, 237—description of a meeting, 318.
- Marches, first code of laws, 131—provisions regarding, in the Birgham Convention, 141—second code of laws, 230—provisions affecting, in truce of 1463, 236.
- Margaret, St, influence of, 55.
- Mary, Queen, marriage to the Dauphin, 290, 293—returns to Scotland, 297—appoints Moray to subdue the Border raiders, *ib.*—in Megotland, 298—sets out for Jedburgh, 299—her friendship with Bothwell, *ib.*—visits Bothwell at Hermitage, 301—her illness at Jedburgh, 302—her house there, 304.
- Melrose Abbey, founded by David, 74—its endowments, *ib.*—its monks the first Cisterians introduced into Scotland, 75—the 'Chronica de Mailros,' *ib.*—its original architecture, 76—its destruction and rebuilding, 77—architectural features of the present remains, *ib.*—John Morow, 79—Bruce provides for its restoration, 166—destroyed by Hertford, 285—dissolution of the monastery and disposal of the lands, 295.
- Melrose Bridge, battle of, 262.
- Meg Merrilees, the original of, 425.
- Merlin, tradition connecting him with the Borders, 31.
- Milkistoun, fort at, 19.
- Monks, the Tironenses at Kelso, 60—the Cisterians at Melrose, 75—the

- Augustine Friars at Jedburgh, 80—their service to the country, 89.
- Montrose leads the Covenanters into England, 366—his career up to Philiphaugh, *ib. et seq.*—surprised by Leslie, 369—battle of Philiphaugh, 370—his flight, 371.
- Moray, Earl of, appointed to subdue the Border raiders, 297.
- Moray, Randolph, Earl of, a principal ally of Bruce's, 157—his raids over the Borders, 162—a hero of the war, 169.
- Morow, John, the probable architect of Melrose Abbey, 79.
- Morton, the Regent, retires to Tweeddale, 320—his death, 321.
- Moss-trooping, the rise of, 243—recrudescence of, 378.
- "Muckle-mouthed Meg," the legend and the facts, 328 *et seq.*
- Muirhouselaw, fort at, 21.
- Murray, Sir Alexander, his agricultural experiments, 410.
- Murray, John, of Broughton, his relations with the Young Pretender, 396—his character, *ib.*—escapes from Culloiden, but is apprehended at Edinburgh, 402—turns informer, 403—his death, *ib.*
- Neidpath, siege of, 377.
- Neilson, George, his "Peel: its Meaning and Derivation" referred to, 117.
- Neville's Cross, battle of, 175.
- Newstead on the Tweed, Roman settlement or Roman-British village at, 9—Roman coins found at, 13.
- Nisbet Moor, defeat of Sir Patrick Hepburn by March at, 195.
- Nisbet, rout of the English at, 177.
- Northampton, Peace of, recognises the independence of Scotland, 165—other provisions of the treaty, 166.
- Northshield, fort at, 19, 20.
- Northumbria, 33—converted to Christianity, 35—decadence of, 42 *et seq.*—conquered by the Danes, 44 *et seq.*—becomes an earldom, 47—joins the rebellion against Edwy, *ib.*—divided into two parts by Edgar, *ib.*—the supposed cession of Lothian, 48—submits to the Danes, 49—Malcolm II. secures Lothian by his victory at Carham, *ib.*
- Oakwood Mill, terraces at, 12—fort at, 21.
- Old Melrose, Boisil founds a monastery at, 36—burned in 839, 73—restored before 875, 74—ruinous and deserted towards end of eleventh century, *ib.*—annexed to the new monastery by David, *ib.*—finally destroyed by the English, *ib.*
- Ornaments of Stone and Bronze Ages, finds of, 28.
- Oswald, 35—installs Aidan at Lindisfarne, 36.
- Otterburn, battle of, 184—the Scots taken by surprise, 187—Froissart's record of the battle, 188—death of Douglas, 189—the losses on either side, 190—characteristics of the battle, *ib.*
- Parishes, formation of, in the Borders, 86.
- Park, Mungo, 420.
- Peebles, the town endowed by David I., 59—castle of, 115—antiquities discovered at, in 1261, 136—given up to the English, 173—horse-racing at, 346—disorder at, 347—Cromwell's troopers at, 377—Charles Edward at, 397.
- 'Peebles to the Play,' its authorship, 211—account of the poem, 212.
- Peeblesshire, forts or "British camps" in, 19—first sheriffs of, 56—names of those swearing allegiance to Edward in, 147.
- Peel, the distinctive form of Border fortress, 117.
- Philiphaugh, battle of, 370—vindictiveness of the victors, 372—traditions of the battle, 373.
- Piperden, battle of, 210.
- Pius II. travels in the Borders, 206—his criticisms, 208.
- Pestilence in the Borders, 176, 422.
- Prehistoric remains in the Borders: artificial caves, 17 *et seq.*—forts or "British camps," 18 *et seq.*—the fortress on Eildon, 21—broch at Torwoodlee, *ib.*—Catrail, 23—standing-stones, 27 *et seq.*—finds of urns, &c., 28.
- Pringle, Thomas, 428.
- Quakers: imprisonment of Walter Scott of Raeburn, 408.
- Raids on the English Border after Bannockburn, 160 *et seq.*—raid into Weardale, 164—description of a raid, 267—raid of Reidswire, 319—the final raids, 335.
- Ramsay, Sir Alexander, of Dalhousie, murdered at Hermitage Castle by "the Flower of Chivalry," 174.
- Reidswire, raid of, 319.

- Religious condition of the Borders in the twelfth century, 293—in the sixteenth century, 294—in the seventeenth century, 345.
- Richard II. crosses the Border with a vast army, 184—destroys Melrose Abbey, *ib.*—obscurity of his last days, *ib.*
- Riddell, Henry Scott, 428.
- Ringley Hall, fort at, 21.
- Rink Hill, fort at, 21.
- Rodger, Andrew: the "Seceders" oppose the introduction of his winnowing-machine, 414.
- Romanno, terraces at, 12.
- Roman occupation of the Borders, 2 *et seq.*—relics of, 4—Watling Street, *ib.*—Wheel Causey, 6—Roman camp at Cappuck, *ib.* *et seq.*—settlement at Newstead, 9—camp at Lyne, 10—"Agricola's Camp," *ib.*—fort at Kippilaw, *ib.*—terraces at Romanno and Oakwood Mill, 12—influence on the Borders, *ib.* *et seq.*—outstanding events of the Roman occupation, 13-15—withdrawal of the Romans, 16 *et seq.*
- Roxburgh, early mention of, 56—derivation of the name, *ib.*—great ecclesiastical council at, *ib.*—its importance during the reign of David I., 58—occupied by followers of Wallace, 151—given up to the English, 173—Baliol's homage to Edward III., 178—murder of body-servant of the Earl of March, 180—the revenge of the "Bloody Fair," *ib.*—burnt by the Scots, 181—burnt by William Douglas and a son of the Earl of March, 200—Somerset receives the submission of Border gentry at, 289.
- Roxburgh Castle, 115—seized by followers of Wallace, 151—in the hands of the English, 156—captured by stratagem by Sir James Douglas, 158—given up to the English, 173—retaken by Sir Alexander Ramsay, 174—surrendered to Percy, 175—besieged by the Borderers assisted by French, 183—threatened assault by "Tineman" Douglas, 202—besieged by James I., 210—besieged by James II., 232—its capture and demolition, 234—repaired by Somerset, 289.
- Roxburgh, third Duke of, founder of the Roxburgh Club, 419.
- Roxburghshire, forts or "British camps" in, 19—first Sheriffs of, 56—names of those belonging to the county swearing allegiance to Edward in, 146—given up to the English, 173.
- Rutherford, Alison, of Fairmile, poetess, 419.
- Rutherford, Samuel, 346—convicted of preaching against Arminianism, 361—sends forth his 'Letters,' *ib.*—his 'Lex Rex' publicly burnt, 382—his death, 383.
- Scot, origin of the family, 109—first historical mention of the name, 110.
- Scot, Adam, of Tushielaw, convicted of theft and of levying blackmail and beheaded, 269.
- Scott, Andrew, of Bowden, 428.
- Scot, Michael, 90—his connection with the Border, 91—his education, *ib.*—tutor to the future Emperor Frederick II., 92—residence at Toledo, 93—his works and further studies, *ib.*—his later career, 94—his true character, 95—local legends of, 96.
- Scot, Captain Walter, of Satchells, author of the rhymed 'History of the Several Honourable Families of the Right Honourable name of Scot,' 342.
- Scott, Sir Walter, 426.
- Scott, Sir Walter, of Buccleuch, attacks the Earl of Angus at Melrose Bridge, 261—slain by the Kers, 262.
- Scott, Sir Walter, of Buccleuch, raised to the peerage, 356.
- Scott, Mrs. of Wauchope, 419.
- Scotts and Kers, blood feud between, 262.
- Selkirk, castle of, 116—charter of, 119—given up to the English, 173—burnt by Sir Robert Umfraville, 202—local traditions of Flodden, 252—shooting of prisoners taken at Philiphaugh by the Covenanters, 372—conventicle at, 384.
- Selkirkshire, absence of Roman remains in, 11—forts or "British camps" in, 19—first Sheriffs of, 56—Crown property under David I., 59—names of those belonging to the county swearing allegiance to Edward, 147.
- Severus, Emperor, his great expedition into Scotland, 14.
- Smuggling on the Borders, 425.
- Somerville, Mary, author of the 'Mechanism of the Heavens,' 419.
- Soulis, Lord, of Hermitage, 102.
- Standing-stones in the Borders, 27 *et seq.*
- Steward, Robert the, succeeds to the throne, 180.
- Stewart, Sir James the, swears fealty

- to Edward and delivers Roxburgh Castle to him, 145.
 Stirling, Borderers in the raid of, 316.
 Stoddart, Thomas Tod, 428.
 Stuart, his 'Caledonia Romana' referred to, 2.
 Superstition in the Border, in the seventeenth century, 376—immortalised in the minstrelsy, 426.
 Tacitus, his 'Life of Agricola,' 1—quotation from, 3.
 Theodoric the Flamebearer, son of Ida, 33.
 Theodosius the Elder, 16.
 Thomas the Rhymer, his association with Roxburghshire, 98—the father of Scottish song, 99—his prophecies, 101.
 Thomson, James, author of the 'Seasons,' 418.
 'Three Tales of the Three Priests of Peebles,' description of the poem, 214.
 Tobacco culture in the Borders, 411.
 Torwoodlee, broch at, 122.
 Towford, "Agricola's Camp" at, 11.
 Town, a thirteenth century, described, 121.
 Traquair, castle of, 116.
 Turgot, Bishop of St Andrews, his 'Life of St Margaret' referred to, 55.
 Tweed, derivation of the name, 105.
 Umfraville, Sir Robert, invades Scotland, 202.
 Union of the Crowns, its effect on the Borders, 334—Borderers ennobled by, 356.
 Urns, 28.
 Valentinian, 15.
 Veitch, James, of Inchbonny, the peasant astronomer, 419.
 Vienne, Jean de, Admiral of France, sent to assist the Scots, 183.
 Wake, Thomas, Lord, claims the lands of Liddesdale, 171.
 Walker, Peter, of Bristo Port, his vindication of Richard Cameron, 387.
 Wallace, William, on the Border, 149—withdraws to Ettrick, *ib.*—elected Guardian of Scotland, 150—his Border warfare, 151—defeated by Edward at Falkirk, *ib.*—tradition of his descent, 152—the "Wallace" tower and thorn, *ib.*
 Warbeck, Perkin, supported by James IV., 241.
 Wark Castle, defended by the Countess of Salisbury, 175—Scots attack on, 182—its capture and demolition, 194—captured by Sir William Haliburton and recaptured by the English, 203—Albany's siege of, 260.
 Wars of the Roses, many Borderers on the Lancastrian side in, 235.
 Wat of Harden, Old, the type of the old reiving Borderer, 326—marriage with "the Flower of Yarrow," 327—anecdotes of, 328.
 Watling Street, its probable course in the Borders, 4 *et seq.*
 Weapons of Stone and Bronze Ages, finds of, 28.
 West Cademuir, fort at, 19, 20.
 Wheel Causey, the, 6.
 Whiteside, fort at, 20.
 William and Mary, incident at Jedburgh on the accession of, 389.
 William the Lion aids the revolt of the eldest son of Henry II., 123—agrees to a truce, *ib.*—again crosses the Border, *ib.*—captured by the English, 124—endeavours to recover the three Northern Counties, *ib.*—his relations with King John, 125.
 Witchcraft in the Borders in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 405-408.

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